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# CURRENT HISTORY

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE  
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A YEAR

JUNE, 1919

## GERMANY'S EXPIATION

Fiume Controversy  
(BOTH SIDES)

Field Marshal Haig  
HOW THE WAR ENDED

ARGONNE  
AMERICA'S GREATEST BATTLE  
CRIMES OF BOLSHEVIKI  
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SIR ERIC DRUMMOND



First Secretary General of the League of Nations  
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PAUL DUTASTA



Secretary General of Peace Conference, in charge of reception of  
German Peace Delegates

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ADMIRAL KOLCHAK



Head of All-Russian Government at Omsk, representing all the anti-Bolshevist elements

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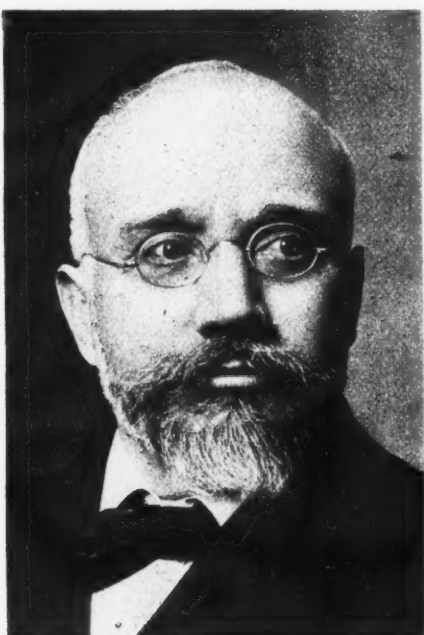
MAJOR. GEN. ROBERT ALEXANDER



Commander of 77th Division in the Argonne battle



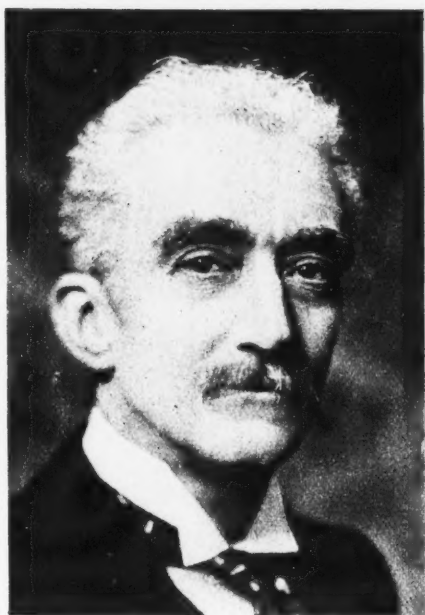
LEADERS OF NATIONS IN LEAGUE COUNCIL



Premier Venizelos  
*of Greece*



Count Romanones  
*Premier of Spain*



Paul Hymans  
*Belgian Foreign Minister*



Dr. Wenceslav Braz  
*former President of Brazil*  
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GERMAN DELEGATES TO PEACE CONGRESS



Herr Landsberg  
*Minister of Arts, Publicity, and  
Literature*



Count Brockdorff-Rantzau  
*Minister of Foreign Affairs*



Adolf Mueller  
*Minister at Berne*



Dr. Melchior  
*Manager of Warburg Bank*



GERMAN DELEGATES TO PEACE CONGRESS



Herr Leinert  
*President of Prussian Assembly*



Professor Schuecking  
*International Lawyer*



Herr Giesberts  
*Minister of Posts*



Max Warburg  
*Shipbuilder and Financier*



## PALACE OF VERSAILLES



Historic park and palace near Paris, designated as place for the signing of the Peace Treaty

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Trianon Palace Hotel, where Treaty was handed to German delegates, May 7, 1919, on anniversary of Lusitania sinking

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PARADE IN BOSTON OF THE 26TH DIVISION

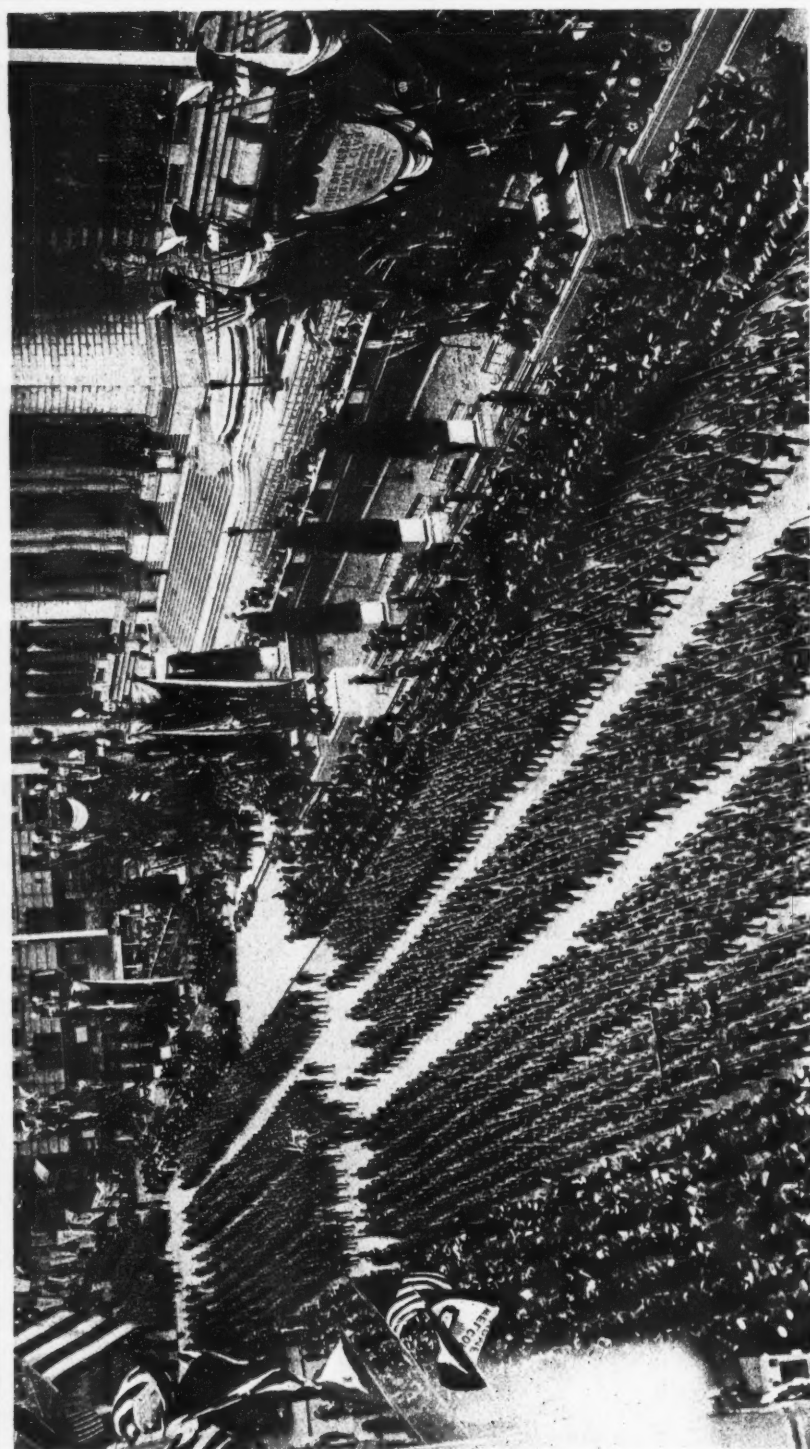


The greatest military demonstration in Boston's history, April 25, 1919, when the New England 26th Division marched to the applause of cheering thousands

(© Underwood & Underwood)



NEW YORK WELCOMES HOME THE 77TH DIVISION

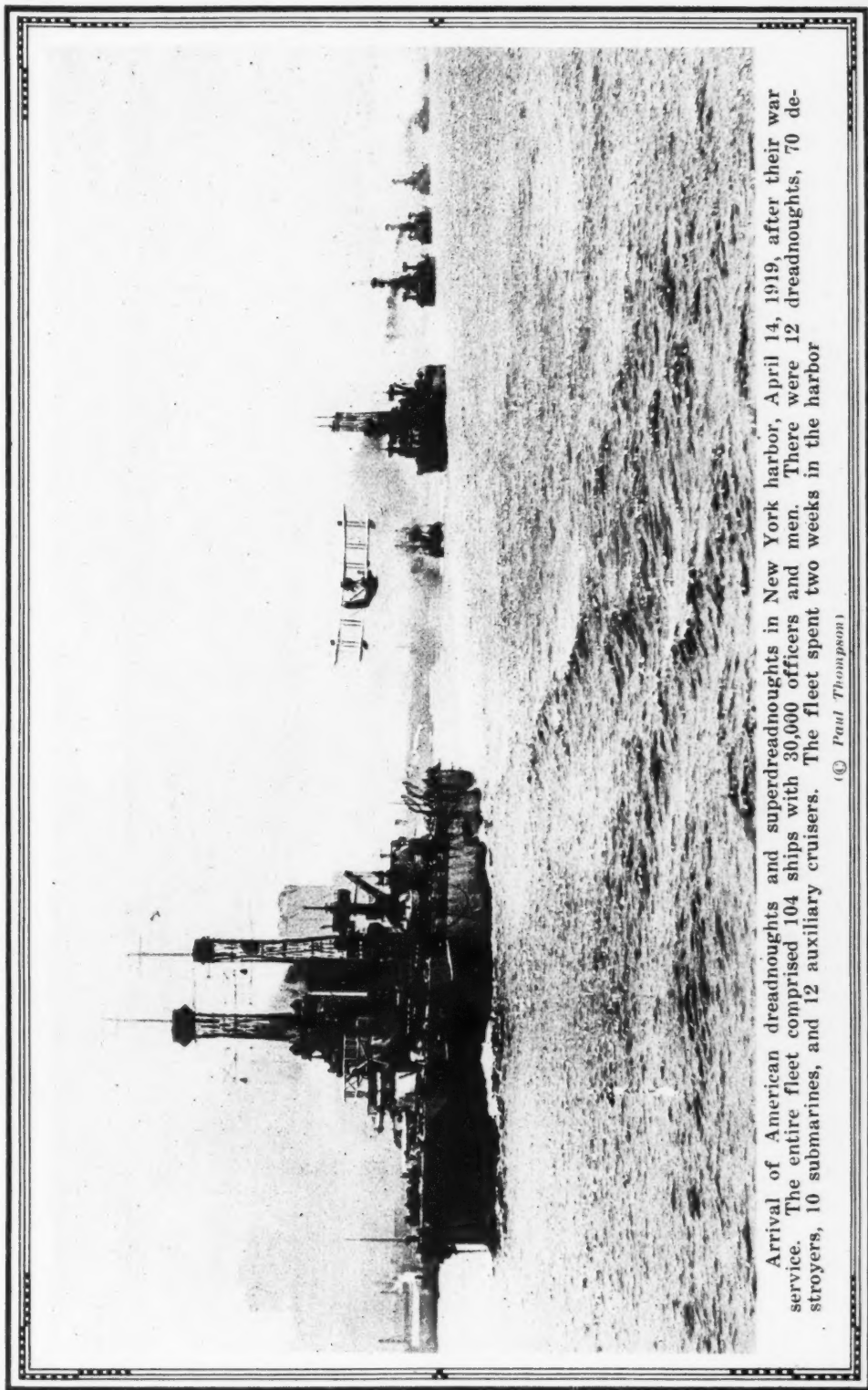


The 77th Division, New York, marching sixteen abreast, May 6, 1919, past the "Court of the Heroic Dead" at the Public Library

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## MOST POWERFUL AMERICAN FLEET EVER ASSEMBLED

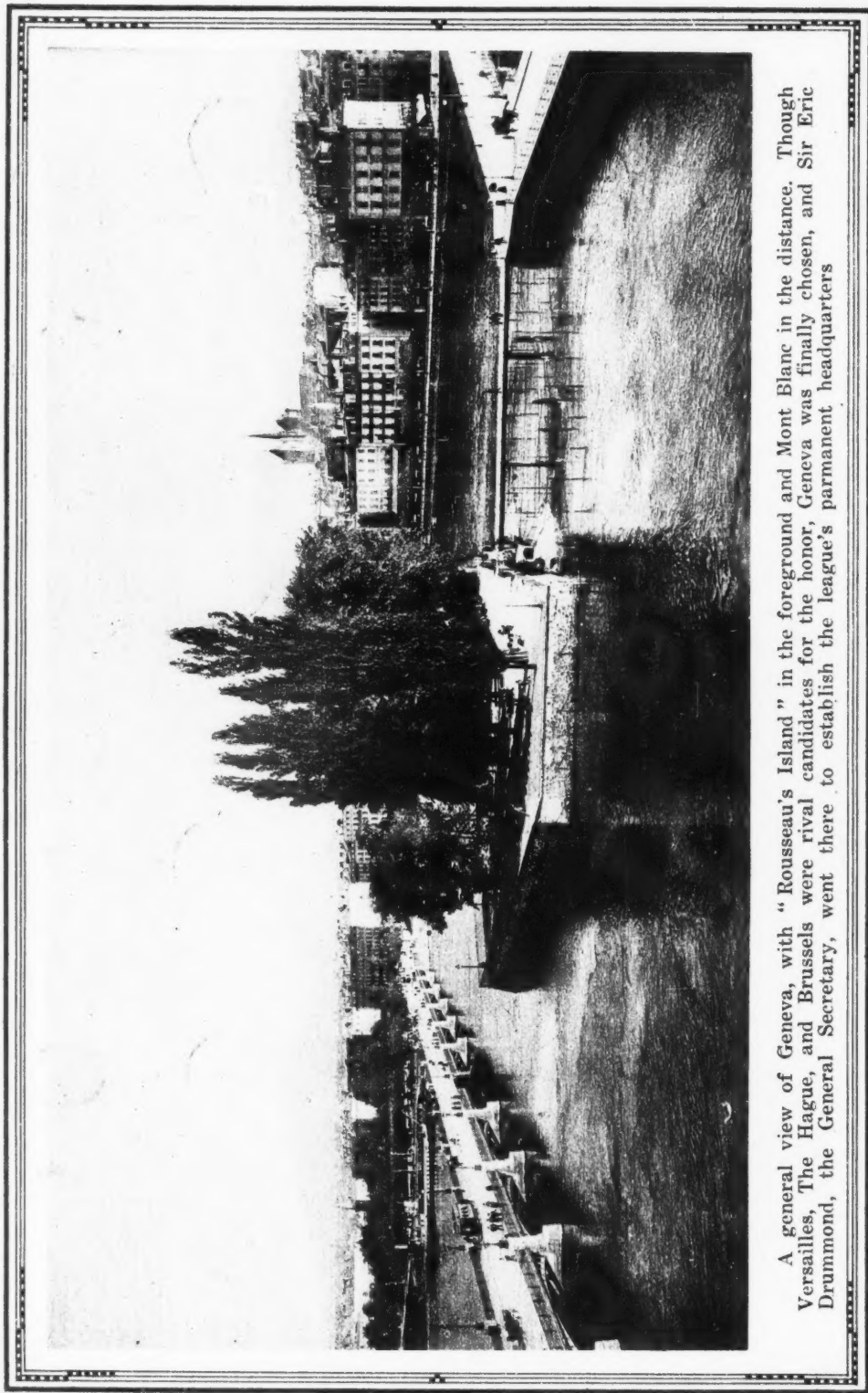


Arrival of American dreadnoughts and superdreadnoughts in New York harbor, April 14, 1919, after their war service. The entire fleet comprised 104 ships with 30,000 officers and men. There were 12 dreadnoughts, 70 destroyers, 10 submarines, and 12 auxiliary cruisers. The fleet spent two weeks in the harbor

(© Paul Thompson)



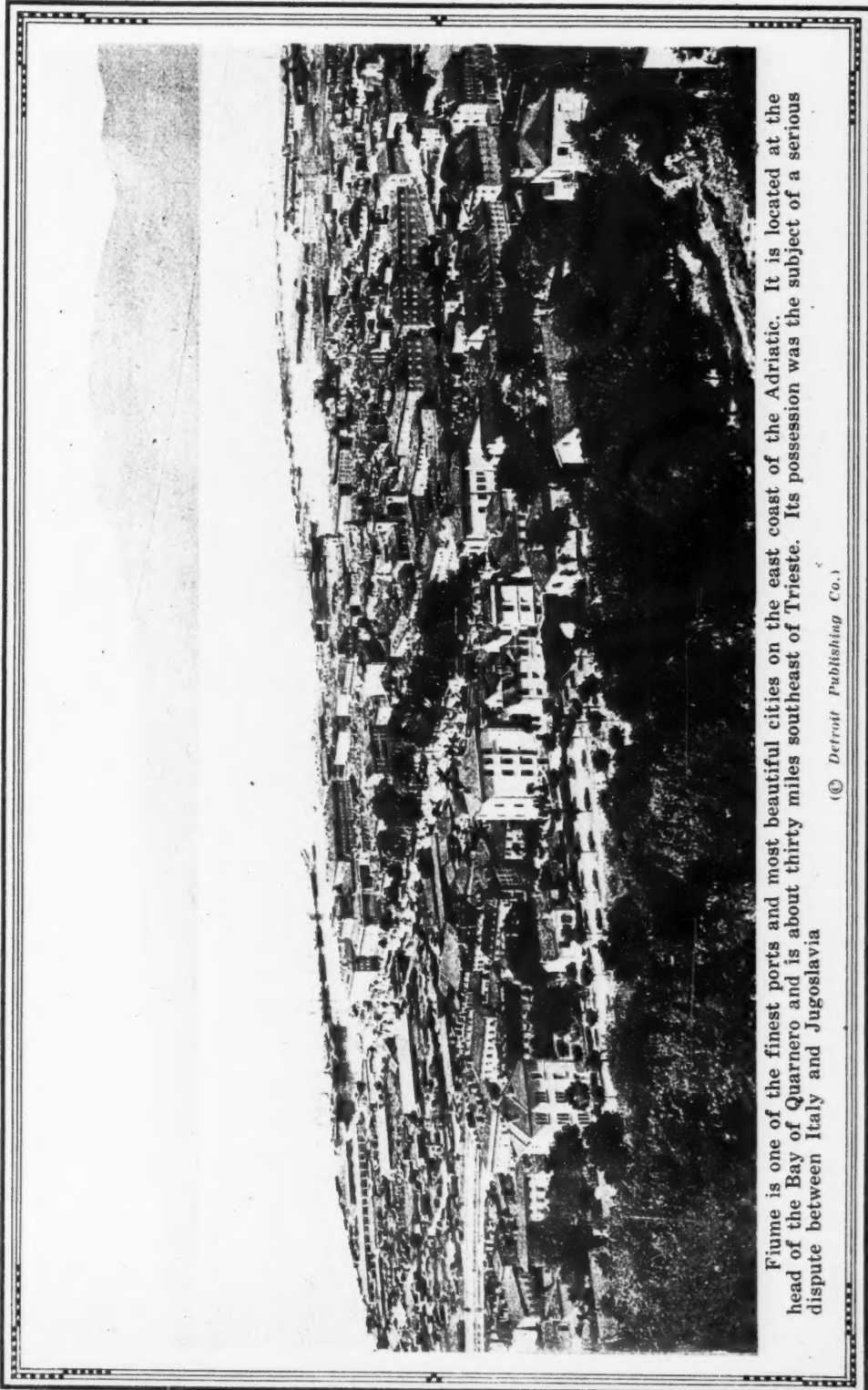
GENEVA, SWITZERLAND, OFFICIAL SEAT OF LEAGUE OF NATIONS



A general view of Geneva, with "Rousseau's Island" in the foreground and Mont Blanc in the distance. Though Versailles, The Hague, and Brussels were rival candidates for the honor, Geneva was finally chosen, and Sir Eric Drummond, the General Secretary, went there to establish the league's permanent headquarters



FIUME, STORM CENTRE OF TREATY DISCUSSIONS AT PARIS



Fiume is one of the finest ports and most beautiful cities on the east coast of the Adriatic. It is located at the head of the Bay of Quarnero and is about thirty miles southeast of Trieste. Its possession was the subject of a serious dispute between Italy and Jugoslavia

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# ALLIED AND ASSOCIATE ANTI-BOLSHEVIST MILITARY LEADERS



In the group, left to right, seated, are: Major Gen. S. Inagaki, Japanese; Colonel Louis Ceissier, French; Major Gen. William S. Graves, U. S. A.; General K. Otani, Japanese, Commander in Chief; Lieut. Gen. M. Yuhi, Japanese; Brig. Gen. Yuyousi, Chinese; Lieut. Col. Philippe, Italian. Second row, standing: Professor J. Maruyama, Japanese; Brig. Gen. J. N. Blair, British; Colonel H. H. Pattison, U. S. A.; Colonel Fuching, Chinese; Major Ou, Chinese; Colonel M. Le Magnen, French; Lieut. Col. O. P. Robinson, U. S. A.; Major C. Manera, Italian; Major Gen. M. Nakajima, Japanese. Third row: Captain T. Watanabe, Japanese; Captain R. J. Hoffman, U. S. A.; Major S. Hasebe, Japanese; Captain G. Balzani, Italian; Lieut. Col. Vichterle, Chief of Staff, Czechoslovak; Major Gaston Renondeau, French; Major J. Broz, Czechoslovak, and Captain F. B. Rives, U. S. A.

(© Wide World Photos)



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# GERMANY AND THE PEACE TREATY

## Historic Ceremony of Its Delivery to the German Delegates at Versailles—How It Was Received

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1919]

THE German delegates received the Treaty of Peace, a document of 80,000 words, from the hands of the Allies in the great dining hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel at Versailles on May 7, 1919. The historic ceremony began at 3:10 in the afternoon and lasted three-quarters of an hour. Delegates of twenty-seven nations composed the assemblage, which, by a curious coincidence, met on the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*.

The occasion marked the culmination of four months of unremitting labor on the part of the Entente. The period between the armistice, Nov. 11, 1918, and the convening of the Peace Conference on Jan. 18, 1919, had been occupied in the selection and arrival of delegates, the organization of the conference under the chairmanship of M. Clemenceau, the preparation of claims and reports, and the untangling of hundreds of knotty problems attendant upon the formulation of the treaty.

No Peace Congress had ever faced so many intricate problems, problems on whose wise and equitable solution the whole future of the world depended. These included the making of a permanent peace; the creation of a League of Nations to control human jealousies and diminish the possibilities of war; the reconciling of conflicting boundary claims of many nations; the setting up of new States within the truncated areas of the vanquished powers, and the insuring of their liberty and unimpaired integrity; the assigning of mandates over millions of humanity in Asia and Africa; the creating of legislative machinery to improve the conditions of labor in all civilized nations of the world.

The program was gigantic, and yet the Peace Conference was everywhere accused of slowness.

As late as April 23 it was reported that the final drafting of the treaty was proceeding with difficulty, owing to the magnitude of the task and the great number of topics only partly concluded. The force working on the draft was doubled, and the Government printing facilities were greatly extended. Special complications were occasioned by the temporary departure of the Italian delegation during the Fiume controversy; it was feared that the Japanese delegation, following Italy's example, would leave the conference because of the Shantung question, but the decision proved to be in Japan's favor. At the last moment Belgium made serious objections to the smallness of the indemnity allowed and to the large share of African territory assigned to British rule, but generous financial concessions by the Allies finally won Belgium's assent to the treaty.

### GERMAN PEACE DELEGATES

The personnel and qualifications of the German peace delegation were not decided without diplomatic parleys. It was announced on April 20 that Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, purposed sending three envoys to Versailles, authorized only to receive the text of the Peace Treaty, considered as a preliminary document; this mission was to be composed of Herr Haniel von Heimhausen, Herr von Keller, and Herr Ernst Schmitt, the two last mentioned legation counselors, to be attended by two officials and two chancellery servants. To this publicly announced intention the allied Governments immediately protested; and on April 21 Germany notified them that she accepted all the allied conditions respecting the Versailles conference, and would send representatives of plenipotentiary rank,



invested with full power to negotiate and sign the treaty.

The personnel of the whole German peace delegation, as finally agreed upon, consisted of six main delegates and a long list of advisers, representatives of industry and finance, labor unions, and other divisions of German intellectual and economic life. The six peace delegates were:

ULRICH BROCKDORFF - RANTZAU, (Count,) German Foreign Minister, Chairman.

EDUARD DAVID, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Dr. WALTHER SCHUECKING, Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Marburg, and authority on international law.

Dr. ADOLPH MULLER, lately German Minister at Berne.

JOHANN GIESBERTS, Minister of Posts and Telegraphs.

Theodor MELCHIOR, manager of Warburg & Co., bankers.

The Colonial representatives were:

Herr SCHNEE, Governor of German East Africa.

Herr MARQUARDSON, Privy Councillor.

Herr RUPPEL, Privy Councillor.

The expert advisers were the following named professional and business men:

1. Professor AEROBOE, Breslau, agricultural expert.

2. E. ARNHOLD, leader in German industries.

3. Professor BAUMGARTEN, theologian, (Evangelical.)

4. Herr BEUKENBERG of the Phoenix Iron Works, Westphalia.

5. Professor BONN of Munich, known as a great admirer of President Wilson, and author of a book in praise of him.

6. Professor von BRENTANO of Munich, best known for his advocacy of free trade and distinguished as an economist.

7. Dr. CUNO, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Hamburg-American Line.

8. Herr DEUTSCH, Director, A. E. G., (General Electric Company,) Charlottenburg.

9. Herr DODEL, Privy Councillor, Cologne.

10. EDUARD BERNSTEIN, Berlin.

11. Herr BOSCH, Anilin Dye Works, Mannheim, leader in war poison gas development.

12. Herr HARDT, Lennep, manufacturer.

13. LOUIS HAGEN, Cologne, banker and industrialist.

14. Herr HARTMANN, Berlin, German Trade Association.

15. Herr HEINECKEN, Bremen, General Director North German Lloyd Steamship Company.

16. Dr. HERGESSEL, Lindenburg, Director Aerological Institute.

17. Herr HILGER, official mining expert.

18. Frau JUCHATZ, member of National Assembly; Majority Socialist.

19. Herr H. STRUCK, Berlin, expert on art.

20. Herr KLEMM, Mannheim, manufacturer.

21. Bishop KORUM.

22. Herr LEGIEN, General Commissioner of Trade Unions of Germany.

23. Herr LUFSEN, Director of Rhenish-Westphalian Coal Syndicate.

24. Herr von MILLER, member of Reichsrat.

25. Herr PLATE, Chairman of Board of Trades Craftsmen.

26. ADOLPH POEHLMANN, Director of Vereinbank of Munich.

27. Dr. WALTER RATHENAU, President of the A. E. G. (General Electric Company.)

28. Dr. GUSTAF RATHIEN, Berlin.

29. Dr. von RIEDMANN, Hamburg, connected with oil interests.

30. LOUIS ROECHLING.

31. Herr SCHMIDT, Director of the Metal Gesellschaft of Frankfurt.

32. Herr von STAUSS, Berlin, Director of the Deutsche Bank; leader in finance and in petroleum industry.

33. Herr STEGERWALD of the Association of Christian Trade Unions of Berlin.

34. FREDERICK URBIG, Berlin.

35. Herr VORWERK, Hamburg.

36. MAX WARBURG of Hamburg, banker.

37. Professor MAX WEBER of Hamburg, economist.

38. Herr WITHOEFT of Hamburg.

It was announced on May 9 that eight new members of the German Peace Delegation had reached Versailles, among them Count Alfred von Oberndorff, a member of the German Armistice Commission, who brought credentials as a Minister Plenipotentiary.

#### PENALTY FOR REFUSAL

German officials of high standing had intimated that Germany might refuse to sign the treaty, in case the conditions should prove to be so hard as to be unacceptable. That the allied Governments were prepared for this eventuality was seen on May 5, when it was officially stated that the complete economic isolation of Germany was being considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers as a measure to be adopted in the event that Germany refused to sign the peace as drawn. The passage of the official statement covering this decision reads as follows:

The council considered plans which had been formulated to bring about the complete economic isolation of Germany in



the event that the German delegates should refuse to sign the preliminaries of peace. The blockade section was directed to draw up and submit for the approval of the Council of Foreign Ministers a plan of blockade measures to be immediately put into effect should the associated Governments desire to have recourse to economic coercion.

#### FIRST GERMAN ARRIVALS

The German official avant-couriers arrived at Versailles on April 25. They were received by Colonel Henry, liaison officer, and other French officials and taken to the Hôtel des Réservoirs, which had been assigned to the housing of the German delegation. This preliminary delegation consisted of Herr von Warendorff, Councilor of Embassy; Herr Walter, a postal Inspector, and Herr Duker of the Supply Department. A second party, headed by Baron von Lersner, arrived later in the day. Baron von Lersner, a former Secretary of the German Embassy at Washington, was accompanied by the banker, Herr Warburg, head of the financial delegation, and Herr Danker of the Food Administration. The arrival of this party was so quietly arranged that few people in Versailles knew of its coming. Adequate measures of police protection had been taken by the French Government to insure the safety of the German delegates. It was not expected that the Germans would take extended promenades through the vast park of Versailles, which stretches from their hotel in one direction far beyond the great palace of Louis XIV., and in the other to the Trianon and the Petit Trianon, replete with memories of Mme. Maintenon and Marie Antoinette; and all necessary police precautions had been taken to prevent annoyance by curiosity seekers or possibly by hostile persons in that part of the park adjoining the hotel through which they must pass to and from the Trianon Palace Hotel, where the preliminary discussions were scheduled to take place. The advance delegates settled down quietly, awaiting the arrival of the main delegation. This occurred on April 29.

The six main peace delegates, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, Herr Landsberg, Dr. Theodor Melchior, (replacing

Herr Warburg, who had declined appointment on this main mission,) Herr Leinert, Herr Giesberts, and Herr Schuecking, reached Vaucresson, three miles from Versailles, on the evening of April 29. The delegates, accompanied by some sixty experts, assistants, and journalists, traveled in two special trains. Their departure from Berlin had taken place in an atmosphere of pessimism and gloom.

The arrival of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, like so many other great historical events, was singularly unimpressive. The formalities on the station platform were of the briefest character. Baron von Lersner, who commanded the advance party, was there to meet the convoy, and was the first to enter the train. A few moments later he reappeared, followed by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, whom he presented to Colonel Henry and M. Chaleil, Prefect of the Department of the Seine et Oise. M. Chaleil received Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau with the following words:

Excellency, as Prefect of the department and in the name of the Government, I am charged to receive the delegation of the German plenipotentiaries. I have the honor to salute you. I name (Je vous nomme) to you Colonel Henry, Chief of the French Military Mission, who will act as intermediary between the German plenipotentiaries and the Government of the French Republic and the allied nations.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau bowed and thanked the Prefect, who led the way out of the station to where motor cars were waiting to take the party to Versailles.

After being photographed by press photographers, the German delegation was conveyed to Versailles and lodged in the hotel apartments provided. Among those who arrived with the party was Dr. Haniel van Heimhausen, already mentioned as one of the mission of three originally intended to be sent by Germany to receive the treaty.

The French plans of isolating the German plenipotentiaries from the general public were developed fully when barricades were erected, consisting of wooden palings bound with wire and set up on both sides of the Hôtel des Réservoirs,



one side of which was reserved for the Germans, the other for residents; strict control, furthermore, was established at all exits to prevent the Germans from leaving these limits without authority.

#### PRESENTING CREDENTIALS

The German plenipotentiaries to the Peace Congress presented their credentials to the Allies on May 1, at a session beginning at 3:10 P. M. and lasting barely ten minutes. This was the first step in the peace negotiations. The credentials were submitted to representatives of the Allies and the United States. The ceremony took place in the room of the Trianon Palace Hotel previously used for the sessions of the Supreme Military Council.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, on entering, was accompanied by Herr Landsberg, Professor Schuecking and two secretaries. Waiting for him, the allied representatives were grouped around Jules Cambon, the former French Ambassador at Berlin, who is Chairman of the commission. Other members of the allied party included Henry White of the United States, Lord Hardinge of Great Britain, and Ambassador Matsui of Japan.

M. Cambon immediately addressed Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, stating that he was Chairman of the commission intrusted by the allied powers to receive and examine the credentials of the German delegates as the first step in a conference which, it was hoped, would lead to peace. "Here are ours," continued M. Cambon, extending, as he spoke, the formal credentials of the Allied Commission as plenipotentiaries to the Congress. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau surrendered the German credentials with even less of a formal address. After these brief ceremonies the Germans turned and left the hall, walking a few steps to the cars in waiting. They were followed immediately by the allied representatives.

#### UNDER LOWERING SKIES

The skies were overcast, and there were occasional showers of rain. This caused abandonment of the original plan, which contemplated having the Germans walk from the Hôtel des Réservoirs

across the park to the Hôtel Trianon, following the historic precedent set by Louis Thiers, the French delegate, in discussing terms of peace with Bismarck in 1871. He, like the Germans of the present delegation, resided at the Hôtel des Réservoirs, and made his way afoot to the little hotel occupied by Bismarck, then the world's diplomatic centre.

At this meeting for the exchange of credentials, the question of Italian participation in the peace was not raised by the German delegates. Nor was the right of the German plenipotentiaries to represent Bavaria in its existing state of political turmoil contested by the allied powers. It was stated semi-officially that such a protest would have been met by the German delegates by a counterprotest on Italy. On May 4 the Interallied Commission met at the Quai d'Orsay in Paris to prepare a report to be submitted to the Germans in writing regarding their credentials. At this meeting Henry White represented the United States. It was understood that the interallied representatives found nothing to question in the German credentials.

On April 30 the spacious dining room of the Hôtel Trianon had received its Peace Congress installation—three long tables, arranged in horseshoe form, covered with the traditional green cloth of diplomacy. Each table extended forty or fifty feet through the room. At the head of the apartment was a table about thirty-five feet long, at which the representatives of the great powers were to sit, with President Poincaré and Premier Clemenceau in the middle. Inside the horseshoe was another table, covered with red plush, and in the space between one side of the horseshoe and the windows was a similar table. In the window openings were a number of smaller square tables for secretaries.

#### DELIVERY OF THE TREATY

On May 7, just 177 days after the signing of the armistice and 109 days after the associated powers had begun their deliberations, Germany, in the persons of her plenipotentiaries, received through Premier Clemenceau the terms on which France, Great Britain, Italy,



Japan, the United States, and the lesser belligerents were willing to make peace. Though the ceremony had none of the pomp and glitter of earlier Peace Conferences—no such display of Court or military uniforms as marked the Congresses of Berlin and Vienna—the scene was solemnly impressive.

The ceremony, which attracted to the hall a crowd of correspondents and officials, started at 2:20 o'clock, when servants brought in great armfuls of the printed conditions of peace and distributed them, one copy to each delegation, around the hollow rectangle. The Germans only were excepted; their copy was delivered to them at 3:17 o'clock, during the translation of Premier Clemenceau's speech. Gradually the hall filled with the main and lesser delegates. The assembly seated itself without signal at about 3 o'clock. A few moments later Colonel Henry, the French liaison officer, appeared in the chamber, heralding the approach of the German delegation. The Germans entered an instant later, preceded by a functionary of the French Government, wearing the glittering chain of his office, who announced in a loud voice. "Messieurs, the German Delegates." There was some confusion among the Germans while they were finding their proper places. Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau took the middle chair, with his five colleagues and Director van Stockhammer of the Foreign Office flanking him on either hand. Five German secretaries and interpreters took their places at tables in the rear.

At the head of the table the striking faces of Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George and President Wilson attracted the glances of the spectators. Marshal Foch, sitting with the French delegation at the head of one of the side tables, was another conspicuous figure. The bearded faces of the Serbian statesman, M. Pashitch, and the Greek Premier, M. Venizelos, as well as the familiar features of Ignace Jan Paderewski, the Polish Premier, also stood out prominently. The impassive features of the Japanese representatives, the Oriental lineaments of the Chinese, the brown countenances of the Arabs from Hedjaz, and the presence even of the delegates from Liberia

and Haiti gave evidence, were such needed, of the fact that this was a congress made up of many diverse nations.

#### SPEECH OF M. CLEMENCEAU

Premier Clemenceau, as President of the Congress, rose and declared the session opened. He started immediately upon his opening speech, pausing to permit translation into English and German by French interpreters. His speech was as follows:

Gentlemen, Plenipotentiaries of the German Empire: It is neither the time nor the place for superfluous words. You have before you the accredited plenipotentiaries of all the small and great powers united to fight together in the war that has been so cruelly imposed upon them. The time has come when we must settle our account.

You have asked for peace. We are ready to give you peace. We shall present to you now a book which contains our conditions. You will have every facility to examine these conditions, and the time necessary for it. Everything will be done with the courtesy that is the privilege of civilized nations.

To give you my thought completely, you will find us ready to give you any explanation you want, but we must say at the same time that this second Treaty of Versailles has cost us too much not to take on our side all the necessary precautions and guarantees that the peace shall be a lasting one.

I will give you notice of the procedure that has been adopted by the conference for discussion, and if any one has any observations to offer he will have the right to do so. No oral discussion is to take place, and the observations of the German delegation will have to be submitted in writing.

The German plenipotentiaries will know that they have the maximum period of fifteen days [French idiom for "two weeks"] within which to present in English and French their written observations on the whole of the treaty. Before the expiration of the aforesaid period of fifteen days the German delegates will be entitled to send their reply on particular headings of the treaty, or to ask questions in regard to them.

After having examined the observations presented within the aforementioned period, the Supreme Council will send their answer in writing to the German delegation and determine the period within which the final worldwide answer must be given by this delegation.

The President wishes to add that when we receive, after two or three or four or five days, any observations from the



German delegation on any point of the treaty we shall not wait until the end of the fifteen days to give our answer. We shall at once proceed in the way indicated by this document.

#### GERMANY HAS THE FLOOR

The French Premier added the customary phrase: "Has any one observations to make?" Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau raised his hand, but he was not recognized until the Premier's remarks had been translated. During the translation Paul Dutasta, General Secretary of the assembly, moved almost unnoticed across the open space within the rectangle and deposited a copy of the Peace Treaty before the head of the German delegation.

As soon as the translation had been concluded, Premier Clemenceau said: "Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau has the floor."

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, wearing big horn spectacles, then began to read a prepared speech, during which he remained seated. The speech and the translation proceeded together, the Count's guttural German ringing out on particularly vigorous words or phrases, as, for instance, when he declared that the admission by Germany of the sole guilt for the war would be "a lie," and when he forbade the Allies to speak of "cruelty and murder" in view of the sufferings and death of German civilians under the blockade continued after the signing of the armistice. At these moments the German delegates seemed to stiffen, as they sat, stern and silent, with folded arms, by Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau's side.

#### BROCKDORFF'S REPLY

In this speech of response Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau said:

Gentlemen: We are deeply impressed with the sublime task which has brought us hither to give a durable peace to the world. We are under no illusion as to the extent of our defeat and the degree of our want of power. We know that the power of the German Army is broken. We know the power of the hatred which we encounter here, and we have heard the passionate demand that the conquerors make us pay as the vanquished, and punish those who are worthy of being punished.

It is demanded from us that we shall confess ourselves to be the only ones guilty of the war. Such a confession in my mouth would be a lie. We are far from declining any responsibility that this great war of the world has come to pass, and that it was made in the way in which it was made. The attitude of the former German Government at The Hague Peace Conference, its actions and omissions in the tragic twelve days of July, have certainly contributed to the disaster. But we energetically deny that Germany and its people, who were convinced that they were making a war of defense, were alone guilty.

Nobody will wish to contend that the disaster took its course only in the ill-fated moment when the heir apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary fell the victim of murderous hands. In the last fifty years the imperialism of all the European States has chronically poisoned the international situation. The policy of retaliation and the policy of expansion and the disregard of the rights of peoples to determine their own destiny have contributed to the illness of Europe, which saw its crisis in the world war.

Russian mobilization took from the statesmen the possibility of healing, and gave the decision into the hands of the military powers. Public opinion in all the countries of our adversaries is resounding with the crimes which Germany is said to have committed in the war. Here, also, we are ready to confess wrong that may have been done.

We have not come here to belittle the responsibility of the men who have waged the war politically and economically, or to deny any crimes which may have been committed against the rights of peoples. We repeat the declaration which was made in the German Reichstag at the beginning of the war, that is to say: "Wrong has been done to Belgium," and we are willing to repair it.

But in the manner of making war also Germany is not the only guilty one. Every nation knows of deeds and of people which the best of that nation remember only with regret. I do not want to answer by reproaches to reproaches, but I ask them, when reparation is demanded, not to forget the armistice. It took you six weeks until we got it at last, and six more until we came to know your conditions of peace.

Crimes in war may not be excusable, but they are committed in the struggle for victory and in the defense of national existence, and passions are aroused which make the conscience of peoples blunt.

The hundreds of thousands of noncombatants who have perished since Nov. 11 by reason of the blockade were killed



with cold deliberation after our adversaries had conquered and victory had been assured to them. Think of that when you speak of guilt and of punishment!

### APPORTIONING THE GUILT

The measure of the guilt of all those who have taken part can only be stated by an impartial inquest before a neutral commission, before which all the principal persons of the tragedy are allowed to speak, and to which all the archives are open. We have demanded such an inquest, and we repeat this demand.

In this conference also, where we stand before our adversaries alone and without any allies, we are not quite without protection. You yourselves have brought us an ally, namely, the right which is guaranteed by the treaty and by the principles of peace.

The allied and associated Governments renounced in the time between the 5th of October and the 5th of November, 1918, a peace of violence and have written a peace of justice on their banner. On the 5th of October, 1918, the German Government proposed the principles of the President of the United States of North America as the basis of peace, and on the 5th of November their Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, declared that the allied and associated powers agreed to this basis, with two definite deviations.

The principles of President Wilson have thus become binding to both parties to the war—for you as well as for us and also for our former allies. The various principles demand from us severe national and economic sacrifices, but the holy fundamental rights of all peoples are protected by this treaty. The conscience of the world is behind it. There is no nation which might violate it without punishment.

You will find us ready to examine upon this basis the preliminary peace which you have proposed to us, with a firm intention of rebuilding in co-operation with you that which has been destroyed, and repairing any wrong that may have been committed, principally the wrong to Belgium, and to show to mankind new aims of political and social progress.

### TO REPAIR DEVASTATION

Considering the tremendous quantity of problems which arise, we ought as soon as possible to make an examination of the principal tasks by special commissions of experts, on the basis of the treaty which you have proposed to us. In this it will be our chief task to re-establish the devastated vigor of mankind and of all the people who have taken part by international protection of the life, health, and liberty of the working classes.

As our next aim, I consider the recon-

struction of the territories of Belgium and of Northern France which have been occupied by us and which have been destroyed by war.

To do so we have taken upon ourselves the solemn obligation, and we are resolved to execute it to the extent which shall have been agreed upon between us. This task we cannot do without the co-operation of our former adversaries. We cannot accomplish the work without the technical and financial participation of the victorious peoples, and you cannot execute it without us.

Impoverished Europe must desire that the reconstruction shall be fulfilled with the greatest success and with as little expense as is in any way possible. This method alone can be desired. It would be the worst method to go on and have the work done by German prisoners of war. Certainly this work is cheap, but it would cost the world dear if hatred and despair should seize the German people when they considered that their brothers, sons, and fathers who were prisoners were kept so beyond the preliminary peace in their former penal work.

Without any immediate solution of this question, which has been drawn out too long, we cannot come to a durable peace. Experts of both sides will have to examine how the German people may meet their financial obligations to repair, without succumbing under their heavy burden. A crash would deprive those who have a right to reparation of the advantages to which they have a claim, and would entail irretrievable disorder of the whole European economical system.

The conquerors, as well as the vanquished peoples, must guard against this menacing danger, with its incalculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited acknowledgment of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising League of Nations.

### WANTS LEAGUE OPEN TO ALL

Gentlemen, the sublime thought to be derived from the most terrible disaster in the history of mankind is the League of Nations. The greatest progress in the development of mankind has been pronounced, and will make its way. Only if the gates of the League of Nations are thrown open to all who are of good-will can the aim be attained, and only then the dead of this war will not have died in vain.

The German people in their hearts are ready to take upon themselves their heavy burden, if the bases of peace which have been established are not any more shaken.

The peace which may not be defended in the name of right before the world



always calls forth new resistance against it. Nobody will be capable of subscribing to it with good conscience, for it will not be possible of fulfillment. Nobody could be able to take upon himself the guarantee of its execution which ought to lie in its signature.

We shall examine the document handed to us with good-will and in the hope that the final result of our interview may be subscribed to by all of us.

On concluding his speech, Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau replaced his spectacles in their case, spread his hands out upon the table and waited. Premier Clemenceau immediately arose and in one or two sharp phrases brought the proceedings to a close.

The German delegates were the first to leave the Trianon Palace after the meeting. Before their reappearance the military guard had been withdrawn in order to avoid any semblance of military honor. On their appearance, they were quickly shown into automobiles, which left immediately under a French and British escort, and moved through crowded streets in an oppressive silence.

#### MAIN TERMS OF TREATY

Pending the publication of the full text of the Treaty of Peace delivered to the German delegation at the ceremony above described, a brief analysis of its content is herewith given. It is the longest treaty ever drawn. It totals about 80,000 words, is divided into fifteen main sections, and represents the combined product of over a thousand experts working continually through a series of commissions for three and a half months, since Jan. 18. The treaty is printed in parallel pages of English and French, which are recognized as having equal validity. It does not deal with questions affecting Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, except in so far as binding Germany to accept any agreement reached with those former allies.

Following the preamble and deposition of powers comes the covenant of the League of Nations as the first section of the treaty. The frontiers of Germany in Europe are defined in the second section. European political clauses are given in the third, and extra-European political clauses in the fourth. Next are

the military, naval, and air terms as the fifth section, followed by a section on prisoners of war and military graves, and a seventh on responsibilities. Reparations, financial terms, and economic terms are covered in Sections VIII. to X. Then come the aeronautic section, ports, waterways, and railways section, the labor covenant, the section on guarantees, and the financial clauses.

#### MUST GIVE UP LARGE AREA

Germany by the terms of the treaty restores Alsace-Lorraine to France, accepts the internationalization of the Sarre Basin temporarily and of Danzig permanently, agrees to territorial changes toward Belgium and Denmark, and, in the east, Prussia cedes most of Upper Silesia to Poland and renounces all territorial and political rights outside of Europe, as to her own or her allies' territories, and especially to Morocco, Egypt, Siam, Liberia, and Shantung. She also recognizes the total independence of German Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Poland.

Her army is reduced to 100,000 men, including officers; conscription within her territories is abolished; all forts fifty kilometers east of the Rhine are razed, and all importation, exportation, and nearly all production of war material stopped. Allied occupation of parts of Germany will continue till reparation is made, but will be reduced at the end of each of three five-year periods if Germany is fulfilling her obligations. Any violation by Germany of the conditions as to the zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be regarded as an act of war.

The German Navy is reduced to six battleships, six light cruisers, and twelve torpedo boats, without submarines, and a personnel of not over 15,000. All other vessels must be surrendered or destroyed. Germany is forbidden to build forts controlling the Baltic, must demolish Heligoland, open the Kiel Canal to all nations, and surrender her fourteen submarine cables. She may have no military or naval air forces except 100 unarmed seaplanes until Oct. 1 to detect mines, and may manufacture aviation material for six months.



## TO PAY FOR ALL DAMAGES

Germany accepts full responsibility for all damages caused to the allied and associated Governments and nationals, and agrees to reimburse all civilian damages, beginning with an initial payment of 20,000,000,000 marks, (about \$5,000,000,000 at pre-war reckoning,) subsequent payments to be secured by bonds to be issued at the discretion of the Reparation Commission. Germany is to pay shipping damage on a ton-for-ton basis by cession of a large part of her merchant, coasting, and river fleets, and by new construction; and to devote her economic resources to the rebuilding of the devastated regions.

She agrees to return to the 1914 most-favored nation tariffs, without discrimination of any sort; to allow allied and associated nationals freedom of transit through her territories, and to accept highly detailed provisions as to pre-war debts, unfair competition, internationalization of roads and rivers, and other economic and financial clauses. She also agrees to the trial of the ex-Kaiser by an international high court for a supreme offense against international morality, and of other nationals for violation of the laws and customs of war. Holland is to be asked to extradite the former Kaiser, and Germany is to be responsible for delivery of the other offenders.

Germany is required to deliver manuscripts and prints equivalent in value to those destroyed in the Louvain Library. She must also return works of church art removed from Belgium to Germany.

## THE OTHER DETAILS

The League of Nations is accepted by the allied and associated powers as operative, and by Germany, in principle, but without membership. Similarly, an international labor body is brought into being with a permanent office and an annual convention. A great number of international bodies of different kinds and for different purposes are created, some under the League of Nations, some to execute the Peace Treaty; among the former is the Commission to Govern the Sarre Basin till a plebiscite is held, fif-

teen years hence; the High Commissioner of Danzig, which is created into a free city under the League, and various commissions for plebiscites in Malmédy, Schleswig, and East Prussia. Among those to carry out the Peace Treaty are the Reparations, Military, Naval, Air, Financial, and Economic Commissions, the International High Court and Military Tribunals to Fix Responsibilities, and a series of bodies for the control of international rivers.

Certain problems are left for solution between the allied and associated powers, notably the details of the disposition of the German fleet and cables, the former German colonies, and the values paid in reparation. Certain other problems, such as the laws of the air and the opium, arms, and liquor traffic, are either agreed to in detail or set for early international action.

## PLEDGED TO PROTECT FRANCE

At the time that the official summary of the treaty was given out, a statement was also released in which the United States and Great Britain pledged themselves to take certain preliminary steps toward guaranteeing their assistance to France in case of future attack. This statement was as follows:

In addition to the securities afforded in the Treaty of Peace, the President of the United States has pledged himself to propose to the Senate of the United States, and the Prime Minister of Great Britain has pledged himself to propose to the Parliament of Great Britain, an engagement, subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany.

This pledge, according to information published in Paris, was made on the morning of May 7, prior to the ceremony of delivering the Treaty of Peace. Speculation as to the nature of the supplementary treaty was clarified from Washington on May 9, when Secretary Tumulty made public this cablegram from President Wilson regarding the proposed pledge to France:

Happily there is no mystery or privacy about what I have promised the Government here. I have promised to propose to the Senate a supplement in which we shall agree, subject to the approval of the



Council of the League of Nations, to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany, thus merely hastening the action to which we should be bound by the covenant of the League of Nations.

The President thus made it plain that action by the United States under the pledge, if approved by the Senate, would be subject to approval by the League of Nations. He also indicated that the pledge was for the purpose of enabling this country to act in case of an emergency.

It was understood in Paris that this tentative engagement gave great satisfaction in French official and military circles. It appeared that the pledge represented a culmination of conferences held

by Clemenceau and General Foch. The latter took the advanced military view for complete protection, and the French Premier sought to modify this with the more moderate view held by the Conference as a whole. The project of obtaining joint action under the covenant of the League of Nations was abandoned in favor of this new arrangement, which was in the form of a letter to be submitted to the United States Senate and the British Parliament. If approval were given, the engagement would then be submitted to the League Council. It was said that this was a temporary means of assuring French security until the League should be fully established and able to make France permanently secure.

## Discussing Treaty Terms by Means of Notes

### German Objections Formulated

WHEN the Peace Treaty was handed to the German delegates they were informed that no oral discussion would be allowed, and that all objections and suggestions must be made in written form. The result was a long interchange of notes. The first of these German communications, which was sent prior to May 10, was couched in the form of a tentative protest against the treaty as a whole. It read as follows:

The German peace delegates have finished the first perusal of the peace conditions which have been handed over to them. They have had to realize that on essential points the basis of the peace of right agreed upon between the belligerents has been abandoned. They were not prepared to find that the promise, explicitly given to the German people and the whole of mankind, is in this way to be rendered illusory.

The draft of the treaty contains demands which no nation could endure. Moreover, our experts hold that many of them could not possibly be carried out. The German peace delegation will substantiate these statements in detail and transmit to the allied and associated Governments their observations and their material continuously.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

To this letter the following reply was made on May 10:

The representatives of the allied and associate powers have received the statement of objections of the German plenipotentiaries to the draft conditions of peace. In reply they wish to remind the German delegation that they have formulated the terms of the treaty with constant thought of the principles on which the armistice and the negotiations for peace were proposed. They can admit no discussion of their right to insist on the terms of the peace substantially as drafted. They can consider only such practical suggestions as the German plenipotentiaries may have to submit.

### QUESTION OF THE LEAGUE

The second letter from the German representatives, sent at about the same time, read:

The German peace delegation has the honor to pronounce its attitude on the question of the League of Nations by herewith transmitting a German program which, in the opinion of the delegation, contains important suggestions on the League of Nations problem.

The German peace delegation reserves for itself the liberty of stating its opinions on the draft of the allied and associated Governments in detail. In the meantime it begs to call attention to the discrepancy lying in the fact that Germany is called on to sign the statute of the League of Nations as an inherent part of the treaty draft handed to us, and, on the other



hand, is not mentioned among the States which are invited to join the League of Nations.

The German peace delegation begs to inquire whether, and, if so, under what circumstances, such invitation is intended.

BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

The reply of the Allies was as follows:

The receipt of the German program of the League of Nations is acknowledged. The program will be referred to the appropriate committee of the allied and associated powers. The German plenipotentiaries will find on a re-examination of the government of the League of Nations that the matter of the admission of additional member States has not been overlooked, but is explicitly provided for in the second paragraph of Article 1.

#### QUESTION OF PRISONERS

Two further notes were transmitted by the German delegation to the Allies on May 10. One referred to the question of the repatriation of German prisoners, and asked that the details of the transfer be intrusted to commissions. In this note von Brockdorff-Rantzau stated that the German peace delegation had "noted with satisfaction" that the draft of the treaty recognized in principle the repatriation of German war and civilian prisoners with great expedition, and said that special commissions might carry on direct oral discussions which would include all belligerent States, it being pointed out that even during hostilities this had proved to be a most effective way of solving difficulties.

The note said that this work should be much easier, now that the war was over, and would remove differences of conception or lack of clearness on particular points, such as legal conceptions in individual countries. The German delegation, it was said, considered it indispensable that war and civilian prisoners detained or undergoing punishment for other than disciplinary offenses should in principle be included among those to be unconditionally repatriated.

The note continued:

Regarding war and civilian prisoners of allied and associated powers in its hands, Germany has recognized the same principle. It appears self-evident to the German delegation, therefore, that on grounds of fairness certain alleviations in

the treatment of prisoners should be agreed upon pending their return.

In a one-sided manner, some feel, the stipulations have been made in favor of the allied and associated Governments. For instance, those regarding the surrender of personal property, the search for missing objects, and the care of graves might be cited. It is assumed that in these questions a demand for complete reciprocity is founded on general human rights.

The note then referred to a number of minor points and proposed that deliberations by commissions should be begun speedily to clear up preliminaries in readiness for the time when shipping and similar difficulties might be solved and the removal of the prisoners be possible. It alluded to the importance to Germany that the prisoners return home under orderly conditions, insuring their reinstatement into economic life with the greatest possible dispatch, and said that this seemed possible only if everything was done to "raise the moral and physical state of those returning."

Since Germany's economic position prevented her by her own strength from providing the requisite guarantees, the delegation suggested that the deliberations of the commissions might extend to the question of how far it would be possible on the part of the allied and associated Governments to help Germany in the matter, and, for example, in return for the repayment of the cost to provide the prisoners with new outfits, underclothing, civilian suits, and boots before their return.

#### GERMANY'S LABOR SCHEME

The second note in this new interchange, communicated on the same date, dealt with the question of international labor, and read as follows:

The German Peace Delegation to His Excellency, the President of the Peace Conference:

Versailles, May 10, 1919.

Sir—With references to Article LV. and LVI. of the proposals for the establishment of a League of Nations submitted by us, we beg herewith to transmit the draft of an international agreement on labor law, prepared by the German Government.

The German Government is of one mind with the allied and associated Governments in holding that the greatest atten-



tion must be given to labor questions. Domestic peace and the advancement of mankind depend vitally on the adjustment of this question.

The demands for social justice repeatedly raised in this respect by the working classes of all nations are only partly realized in principle in Section XIII. of the draft of peace conditions of the allied and associated Governments on the organizations of labor. The supreme demands have, for the most part, been realized in Germany with the assistance of the working classes, as is generally acknowledged, in an exemplary manner. In order to carry them into execution everywhere in the interests of mankind, the acceptance of the program of the German delegation is at least necessary. We deem it requisite that all States should join in the agreement, even though not belonging to the League of Nations.

In order to guarantee to the working classes, for whom the proposed improvements are intended, co-operation in the framing of these provisions, the German delegation is of the opinion that representatives of the National Trade Union organizations of all the contracting powers should be summoned to a conference at Versailles to discuss and take decisions on international labor law before the peace negotiations are terminated.

The proceedings of this conference should, in the opinion of the German delegation, be based on the resolutions of the International Trade Union Conference in Berne, Feb. 5 to 9, 1919, and the program for international labor legislation, addressed to the Peace Conference in Paris, emanating from the decisions of the International Trade Union Conference in Leeds in 1916. At the request of the trade unions of Germany, we beg to inclose a copy of these resolutions, which have been adopted by the representatives of the trade union organizations of Bohemia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Germany, France, Greece, Holland, Italy, Canada, Norway, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland, Spain, and Hungary.

Accept, Sir, the assurance of my highest esteem. BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU.

The international agreement on labor law prepared by the German Government referred to in the note of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau was prepared in the German Ministry of Labor some months ago, and was first published on May 1. Most of this document was taken up with detailed proposals of labor legislation, a number of which were incorporated in the international labor charter issued by the syndicate conference at Berne in February.

## REPLY OF THE ALLIES

The text of the reply to the German note sent by M. Clemenceau follows:

May 14, 1919.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of May 10 in regard to international labor legislation, together with a draft of an international agreement on labor law. The reply of the allied and associated Governments is as follows:

They take note of the declaration made by the German delegates that domestic peace and the advancement of mankind depend upon the adjustment of the labor question, and they are convinced that such adjustment will be rendered easier in the future than in the past, as men's minds are freed from the fear of war and industry is relieved of the burden of armaments which German militarism has imposed upon it.

Part XIII. of the draft of the conditions of peace provides a means by which such adjustments can be made, and Section II. of this part of the draft lays down the principles which will progressively guide the labor organization and the League of Nations. Article 427 indicates clearly that the enumeration of the principles set forth is not exhaustive. The purpose of the labor organization is that it should promote the constant development of the international labor régime.

The labor convention has been inserted in the Treaty of Peace, and Germany will, therefore, be called upon to sign it. In the future the rights of your country to participate in the labor organization will be secured so soon as she is admitted into the League of Nations in accordance with Article I. of the treaty.

It has not been thought necessary to summon a labor conference at Versailles. The conclusions of a syndical conference at Berne, which are reproduced in the draft of the international agreement on labor law referred to in the first paragraph of your letter of the 10th inst., had already been studied with the closest attention. Representatives of the trade unions had taken part in the preparation of the articles relating to labor.

As appears, moreover, from the annex to Section 2 of Part XIII., Page 200, the program of the first session of the International Labor Conference to be held at Washington next October comprises the most important of the questions raised at the syndical conference at Berne. Trade unions will be invited to take part in that conference, and it will be held under direct rules which provide for due effect being given to conclusions subject only to the assent of the competent authorities in the countries represented.

The draft of the international agreement



on labor law, prepared by the German Government, is deficient in that it makes no provision for the representation of labor at the international conference which is proposed. It is also inferior to the provisions submitted in Part XIII. of the peace conditions in the following respects:

(a) Five years is suggested as a maximum interval between conferences, (Article VII.) The peace conditions—one year, (Article CCCLXXX.)

(b) Each country has one vote, (Article VII.) The peace conditions give a vote to each delegate, whether representing a Government, employers, or workers, (Article CCCXC.)

(c) Resolutions are only binding if carried by a majority of four-fifths of the voting countries, (Article VII.) The peace conditions provide that a majority of two-thirds only of the votes cast shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of a recommendation or the draft of a convention by the conference, (Article CDV.)

The allied and associated Governments are therefore of the opinion that their decisions give satisfaction to the anxiety which the German delegate professes for social justice, and insure the realization of reforms which the working classes have more than ever a right to expect after the cruel trial to which the world has been subjected during the last five years. Accept, Sir, &c., G. CLEMENCEAU.

#### REGARDING THE SARRE MINES

Three additional notes from the German peace delegation, all of considerable length, were delivered to the Council on May 14. One of them, dealing with economic clauses of the treaty, declared that they meant the ruin of Germany if they were enforced.

A note on territorial questions protested particularly against the Sarre Valley arrangement, and the transfer of the Malmédy, Morsenet, and Eupen districts to Belgium, as well as the forced evacuation of a part of Schleswig. This note declared that the portion of the treaty dealing with territorial annexation was not in accordance with President Wilson's fourteen points.

Under the financial and economic conditions of the treaty, it was set forth, it seemed that it would be impossible for Germany to have enough gold on hand at the end of fifteen years to repurchase the Sarre Valley mines from France, and that if she did the indemnification com-

mission which would still dominate Germany would not permit this gold to be used for such a purpose. The note suggested negotiations with the Entente with a view of effecting an alternative arrangement to meet France's just claims by the delivery of coal from both the Sarre and the Ruhr regions.

A note on reparations, though not protesting against payment for devastation in Belgium and France, declared that Germany would not pay for this damage on the principle that she was responsible for the war. The note stated that Germany had obligated herself to give compensation based on Secretary Lansing's note of Nov. 5, independently of the question of responsibility for the war. No rights to such indemnification could be derived by the allied powers from the principle of the former German Government's responsibility for the origin of the war. The note asserted further that the peace terms provided no proof of such responsibility, and requested that the reports of all the allied commissions which investigated this question should be communicated to the German delegation.

It was reported on May 16 that an uncompromising answer to the German note protesting against the Sarre decision had been drafted by the Special Commission on Territorial Affairs, presided over by André Tardieu.

#### DEPARTURE OF BROCKDORFF

Six members of the German peace delegation left Versailles on May 9. Three of these were newspaper men, among them Friedrich Stampfer, chief editor of the Socialist paper, Vorwärts, whose sensational article on the peace terms, reproduced elsewhere in this issue, appeared shortly after his arrival back in Berlin. The other members of the returning party were the labor leader, Carl Legien, head of the German Trades Union Federation; Privy Councilor Eberbach, representative of the Ministry of Railroads, and Herr Schmidt of the Foreign Office. These last three rank as commissioners next in importance to the plenipotentiaries; it was stated that they had been instructed to carry on



direct discussion of the situation with the German Government. It was also announced on May 9 that the German military delegates, Henrichs and von Seek, were likewise returning to Berlin for a consultation.

Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau, accompanied by Max Warburg and several other members of the German delegation, left Versailles by way of Paris on the evening of April 17 and returned to Berlin in order to discuss with the German Government whether to sign the treaty or not. Herr Leinert and Herr Schuecking remained at Versailles in charge of the negotiations.

The determination of the allied and

associated Governments to enforce fulfillment of the peace terms, as evidenced by the official statement of blockade plans given elsewhere in this article, was emphasized again on May 14 with the announcement that Marshal Foch had been sent to the Rhine by the Council of Four to take such action as might be necessary in the event that the German delegation refused to sign the treaty. The Council of Four, composed of David Lloyd George, M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Signor Orlando, on the same day considered the immediate re-imposing of the blockade against Germany in case that country declined to accept and sign the treaty.

## Public Sentiment in Germany

### Universal Protest Against Terms

THE effect of the peace terms in Berlin was described as that of a stunning blow. Hard terms had been expected, but not such demands as these. The people as a whole were amazed and overcome, and business was brought practically to a standstill. It was declared on every hand that Germany could not and would not sign the treaty, no matter what might come.

The President of the Imperial Ministry sent a telegram to the Governments of the Free States, which read as follows:

In deep distress and weighed down by cares, the German people have waited through the months of the armistice for the peace conditions. Their publication has brought the bitterest disappointment and unspeakable grief to the entire people. A public expression ought to be given these feelings by all Germans. The Imperial Government requests that the free States have public amusements suspended for a week and allow in the theatres only such productions as correspond to the seriousness of these grievous days.

German public opinion soon crystallized into the conviction that France had triumphed over President Wilson and that the peace terms violated the letter and spirit of the Wilsonian principles. It was felt that such a "Gewaltfrieden" as this represented would not be perma-

nent, that it was a mere makeshift, and that its terms were impossible of fulfillment; that it would make another and more terrible war inevitable. Not only the Militarists, Junkers and former Pan Germans, but also the Clericals and even the Democrats prophesied that the Peace Treaty would give birth to the "revanche" idea in Germany, with new and greater "irredentas" as a menace to the future peace of the world. For a totally different reason the Socialists believed that the treaty would be short-lived. The Independent Socialists and Communists declared that once the peace was signed, as they believed it must be, the social revolution would spread to Italy, France, and Great Britain, thereby rendering the peace terms null and void, while the pacific majority Socialists expected the same practical result by the ultimate triumph of international pacifism or socialism.

### THE MILITARISTIC ATTITUDE

A frank utterance by General von Francz, a former army commander, voiced the prevailing German military opinion at this time. The statement was in part as follows:

The Germanic giant is to be beaten into submission and placed in chains. We are



to live for generations poor and enslaved, But the harder the enemy forges our slaves' shackles the sooner shall we burst them.

To be sure, German strength at present is lamed by a shameful armistice, which robbed us of our weapons, and by a revolution, which robbed us of our discipline. But German strength persists unbroken and the fury for battle continues to live in the German races. Our enemies should not forget this in discussing the peace terms.

A peace that humiliates the German people and reduces it to serfdom forms the seed for a new war, more terrible than the world war, which must break out for the freedom of the Fatherland. The experiences of the world war must not sink into the oblivion of the past, rather must its lessons be brought to light and explained.

The Government must see to it that the General Staff and the War Ministry continue to work with considerably increased budgets. The smaller the peacetime size of the army, the greater and more extensive must be the peace work of the General Staff and War Ministry, whose duty it must be to extract lessons for the future from our failures.

#### PRESS COMMENT

Condemnation of the peace terms was expressed by all the Berlin newspapers, those of the extreme right referring to the conditions as "unfulfillable," and to the treaty as "an instrument of robbery."

The Tageszeitung said:

One thing is certain, there can be no question of this being a peace of justice. What a peace of justice after the Entente pattern and in accordance with French desire looks like is shown by the conditions, which leave nothing of Germany but a torn and tattered territory.

The Freiheit said that, compared with the policy Germany pursued at Brest-Litovsk, the Entente peace "must be termed quite moderate," but it argued that the terms were in sharp contradiction to President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and that if peace is to be built on this compromise it assuredly can have no firm and lasting foundation.

"A peace of annihilation," was the caption used by Vorwärts, which said:

If we sign this peace it is because we are bound by force, but in our hearts we resolutely reject it. Such a peace is an attempt to exterminate a nation, not by

force of arms, but by a means more brutal, economic slavery.

The Frankfurter Zeitung said:

We are at the graveside of right. The only doubt is whether it also means the graveside of the German Nation. Never has murder been committed in more courteous form or with more cynical equanimity. The German reply will have to consider that the draft deviates from Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points as far as the east is from the west.

The financial writers commented exhaustively on financial problems. They held that solution of these would be rendered impossible by the peace terms, which would mean the destruction of Germany. The Tageblatt's financial expert said that Germany had hoped, if not in this generation, at least in the next, to be able to recover and live by her own work, but that this belief had now been completely upset. The Vossische Zeitung estimated that the indemnity would total 180,000,000,000 marks gold, and declared that the Allies had not taken into account the war material and the surrendered German Navy. A smaller and weaker Germany, the writer declared, would be unable to pay the indemnity.

#### VIEW OF HARDEN

In an article published by Maximilian Harden, editor of the Zukunft, on May 11, he said:

The peace conditions are not harder than I expected. They were unpleasant to the greater part of the people, but could one really have expected them otherwise? The Germans have not given very convincing mental guarantees during the six months since the revolution that they have changed their system. On the contrary, the present Government and the press have used the same methods of incitement, the same tricks of bluff, as under the old rule of the petty nobility.

The Government's proclamations and speeches are only bad copies of the Kaiser's time. The whole press resounds in protests and has started a campaign of incitement against the Allies couched in violent language. It is agitating for refusal to sign the treaty, and to what use? All must know that the Allies, by keeping up the blockade and occupying the coal districts, can force Germany to sign whatever they want.

The Allies have been threatened that Germany would join the Bolsheviks. But that would be suicidal. The only way to



rescue the country is by openness and honesty. The revolution has been a great disappointment.

Germany should have sent men who would have laid their cards on the table and got the Allies to understand that some of the conditions were unacceptable. If Germany showed its good-will to do what is in its power to comply with the Allies' requests the Allies would see that conditions were changed in favor of Germany, because they know there must be a Germany and that it is impossible to destroy the German people.

#### ARTICLE IN VORWAERTS

An utterance which created a sensation throughout Berlin, especially in political circles, was published in the *Vorwärts* on May 10, from the pen of Friedrich Stampfer, the editor, just returned from Versailles. Herr Stampfer said:

I have come from Versailles, where we sought for peace and found war. I have come from Versailles in order to cry in the ears of sleepers that it is still war. You may slay the bringer of bad tidings, but that will not alter the frightful fact that though weaponless we are still at war.

True peace between civilized peoples can only be attained by negotiation. Our opponents will not negotiate, and therefore it is a lie when they assert that they wish peace. The indescribable instrument of pressure which they present to us is no instrument of peace, but an expression of their pitiless determination to continue, by other means, their war of extermination against the German people.

It would therefore be lunacy to believe that peace would be brought about by putting six German names on one piece of paper. Even after the signing of this so-called peace treaty, the world war would not be at an end. If we sign, we merely stand before another stage of world struggle. In place of thundering annihilation there would be clandestine destruction which would last for generations, and after an age of despair we should still look in vain for the hour of delivery.

If we do not sign, then we have before us a short struggle which would bring either destruction or salvation. \* \* \*

The enemy will attempt to occupy parts of Germany and to force the rest to surrender by hunger. We must force him to make a complete job of it. The enemy must himself be compelled to occupy all of Germany and to make her a colony of his so-called League of Nations.

We shall then see how long his inner and outer unity prevails, and if it lasts for years we must not weaken. We have

before us the heroic example of little Belgium, which in similar circumstances held out for four years. What Belgium could do we must do.

#### OFFICIAL OPINION

"Germany has seized and unfurled a new banner on which are inscribed President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which the President apparently has deserted," said Friedrich Ebert, the German President, in a statement to The Associated Press on May 11. President Ebert called the Peace Treaty a "monstrous document." He declared that history held no precedent for such determination to annihilate completely vanquished peoples. President Ebert declared that the world's youngest republic in the hour of gravest peril had weighed its overseas big brother (America) and found him wanting.

President Fehrenbach at a meeting of the Peace Committee of the German National Assembly on May 9 declared that the terms were more drastic than the most pessimistic forecasts had anticipated, and said that the treaty, which meant the enslavement of the German people, was dictated by hate.

Prince Lichnowsky, the former German Ambassador at London, said to a correspondent of *Le Temps* on May 11:

Such a peace would be equivalent to the annihilation of Germany. It is only acceptable with serious modifications. I suppose it is meant as a basis for negotiations. After Napoleon, Europe did not hold the French people responsible. This peace is a peace of violence. It appears to me to have been dictated under the influence of Foch.

#### SPEECH OF SCHEIDEMANN

In a speech before the German National Assembly on May 12, Chancellor Philipp Scheidemann said:

This treaty is, in the view of the Imperial German Government, unacceptable, so unacceptable that I am unable to believe that this earth could bear such a document without a cry issuing from millions and millions of throats in all lands, without distinction of party. Away with this murderous scheme!

With the exception of the Independent Socialists led by Hugo Haase, all factions in the Assembly rose to their feet in vociferous approval. The Chancellor



described the peace treaty as a "dreadful" document. He said that it would make an enormous jail of Germany, in which 60,000,000 persons would have to labor for the victors in the war. German trade, he asserted, would be strangled should the terms be accepted. He criticised President Wilson, and said that the President by his attitude had deceived the hopes of the German people. He continued:

#### APPEALS FOR NATIONAL UNITY

I know that I am one in heart with you in the gravity and sanctity of this hour, which should be ruled by only one idea, that we belong to one another and must stand by one another and that we are one flesh and one blood and that whoever tries to sever us is driving a murderous knife into the living body of the German people.

To keep our nation alive—that and nothing else—is our duty. We are pursuing no nationalistic dreams. No questions of prestige and no thirst for power have a part in our deliberations. Bare life is what we must have for our land and nation today while every one feels a throttling hand at his throat.

Let me speak without tactical considerations. The thing which is at the basis of our discussion is this thick volume in which 100 sentences begin: "Germany renounces." This dreadful and murderous volume by which confession of our own unworthiness, our consent to pitiless disruption, our agreement to helotry and slavery, are to be extorted—this book must not become the future code of law.

The world has once again lost an illusion. The nations have in this period, which is so poor in ideals, again lost a belief. What name on thousands of bloody battlefields, in thousands of trenches, in orphan families, and among the despairing and abandoned has been mentioned during these four years with more devotion and belief than the name of Wilson?

Today the picture of the peace bringer as the world pictured him is paling beside the dark forms of our jailers, to one of whom, Premier Clemenceau, a Frenchman recently wrote: "The wild beast has been put in a cage on bread and water, but is allowed to keep his teeth, while his claws are hardly cut."

#### ALL GERMANY IN CAPTIVITY

All over Berlin we see posters intended to arouse a practical love for our brothers in captivity. They show sad and hopeless faces behind the prison bars—that is the right frontispiece for the so-called

Peace Treaty, a true portrait of Germany's future.

Sixty millions are behind the barbed wire and the prison bars—sixty millions at hard labor, for whom the enemy makes their own land a prison camp. Should the peace conditions be accepted Germany no longer could call anything her own which lies outside these narrow bounds. Germany has ceased to exist abroad, but if that were not sufficient, her cables have been taken from her and her wireless stations can send only commercial telegrams, and then only under control of the Allies. This would separate us from the outer world, for what business can be done under the control of competitors need not be described.

But this is far from enough. The Council therefore determines treaties between enemy countries to be null and void except such treaties whose execution is in favor of a Government of the allied powers.

What does President Wilson so aptly say, "that the first principle of peace itself is equality, equal participation in common benefits." This principle has been abrogated in the peace terms.

That is the jail picture in its external aspects; without ships because the mercantile fleet passes into Entente hands, without cables, without colonies, without foreign settlements, without reciprocity and legal protection, yes, and even without the right to co-operate in fixing the prices for the goods and articles which we have to deliver as tribute.

I ask you what honest man will say that Germany can accept such conditions. At the same time as we shall have to bestir ourselves to perform forced labor for the benefit of the entire world, our foreign trade, the sole source of our welfare, is destroyed and our home trade is rendered impossible.

Lorraine iron ore, Upper Silesian coal, Alsatian potash, the Sarre Valley mines, and the cheap foodstuffs from Posen and West Prussia are to lie outside our frontiers. We are to impose no higher tariff or protection than existed on Aug. 1, 1914, while our enemies may do as much as they like at every point in strangling us at home. All German revenues must be held at the disposal of our enemies for payments, not for war invalids and widows—all as forced labor for products the prices of which will be fixed by our customers. \* \* \*

We protest against hatred being perpetuated, a curse being established for all eternity. Members of the National Assembly, the dignity of humanity is placed in your hands. Preserve it.



## PROCLAMATION BY EBERT

A proclamation to the German people issued in Berlin by President Ebert on May 9 read as follows:

The first reply of the Allies to the sincere desire for peace on the part of our starving people was the laying down of the uncommonly hard armistice conditions. The German people, having laid down their arms, honestly observed all the obligations of the armistice, hard as they were.

Notwithstanding this, our opponents for six months have continued the war by maintaining the blockade. The German people bore all these burdens, trusting in the promise given by the Allies in their note of Nov. 5, that the peace would be a peace of right on the basis of President Wilson's "fourteen points."

Instead of that, the Allies have now given us peace terms which are in contradiction to the promise given. It is unbearable for the German people and is impracticable, even if we put forth all our powers. Violence without measure would be done to the German people.

From such an imposed peace fresh hatred would be bound to arise between the nations, and in the course of history there would be new wars. The world would be obliged to bury every hope of a League of Nations, liberating and healing the nations and insuring peace.

The dismemberment and mangling of the German Nation, the delivering of German labor to foreign capitalism for the indignity of wage slavery, and the permanent fettering of the young German republic by the Entente's imperialism is the aim of this peace of violence. The German people's Government will answer the peace proposal of violence with a proposal of a peace of right on the basis of a lasting peace of the nations.

The fact that all circles of the German people have been moved so deeply testifies that the German Government is giving expression to the united will of the German Nation. The German Government will put forth every effort to secure for the German people the same national unity and independence and the

same freedom of labor in economic and cultural respects which the Allies want to give to all the peoples of Europe, save only our people.

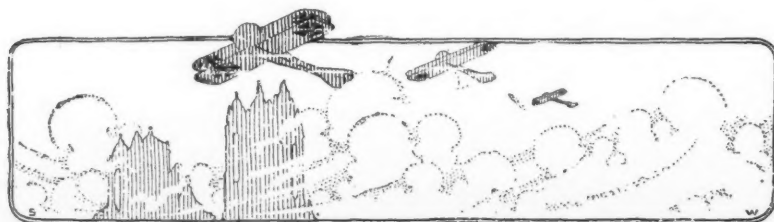
Our nation must save itself by its own action. In view of this danger of destruction, the German Nation and the Government which it chose must stand by each other, knowing no parties.

Let Germany unite in a single will to preserve German nationality and liberties. Every thought and the entire will of the nation ought now to be turned to labor for the preservation and reconstruction of our fatherland. The Government appeals to all Germans in this hard hour to preserve with it mutual trust in the path of duty and in the belief in the triumph of reason and of right.

## UNIVERSAL PROTEST

Mass demonstrations organized by the National People's Party to protest against the signing of the treaty were held in Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, Königsberg, Cassel, Bochum, and other places. Waves of protest and remonstrance surged over all Germany, filled with expressions of anger, bitterness and disappointment. A telegram from Silesia protested vehemently against the cession of Upper Silesia to the Poles. The newspapers were swamped with protests, and the Government was overwhelmed with telegrams from all parts of the country. The expression "A sentence of death" was one frequently employed.

Cardinal Hartmann, Archbishop of Cologne, requested Pope Benedict to intervene in the situation between the allied powers and Germany in order to protect Germany from the complete breakdown which menaced her. In his appeal the Cardinal asserted that the peace conditions would mean the utter ruin of Germany, and would be a cruel violation of the rights of 70,000,000 inhabitants of the country.





# The New Boundaries of Germany

## Descriptions and Maps

**A**N official summary of the boundaries of Germany as they were defined and circumscribed by the terms of the Peace Treaty was published in Paris on May 7. This summary reads as follows:

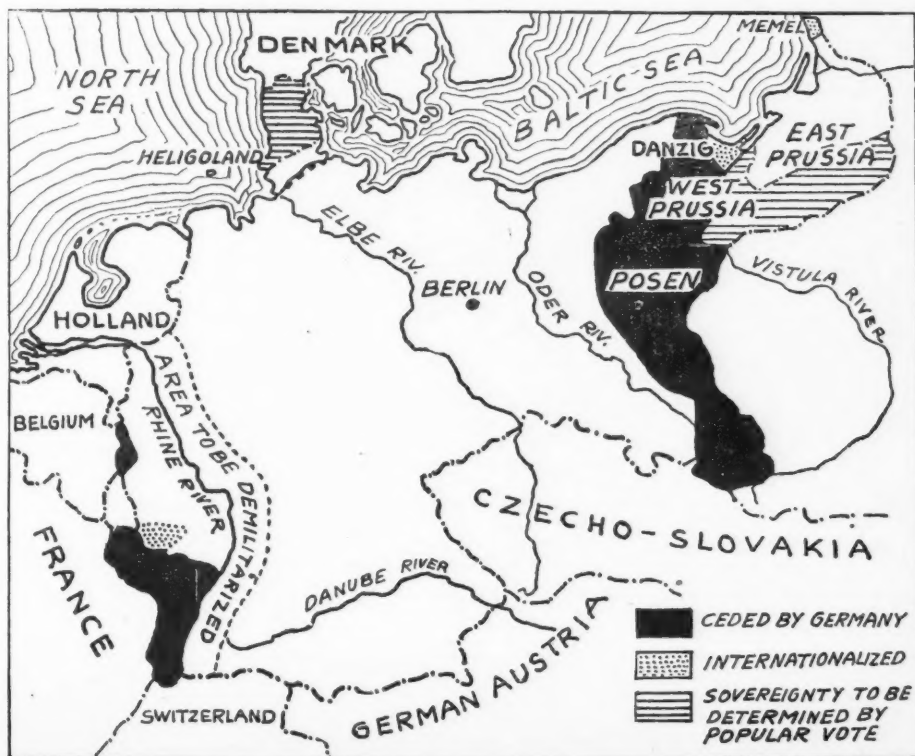
The new boundaries of Germany may be described approximately as follows:

- (1) Present boundary with Holland.
- (2) With Belgium, east of neutral Moresnet and along the eastern boundary of Kreise, of Eupen and Malmédy.
- (3) The present frontier with Luxemburg.
- (4) The frontier with France of 1870, i. e., the eastern boundary of Alsace-Lorraine, with reservations as regards the Sarre Basin.
- (5) The present frontier of Switzerland.
- (6) Frontier of 1914 with Austria to the angle east of Neustadt.
- (7) The new frontier with Poland runs thence northward, passing west of Oppeln to the most southerly point of Posenania,

(Posen.) thence to the western boundary of Posenania to the River Bartsch; thence from the River Bartsch to a point about ten miles east of Glogau; thence from the boundary of Posenania northeast to southwest of Lissa; thence northeast to west of Kopnitz, (forty-five miles southwest of Posen.)

Thence the line will run north along the line of lakes and crossing the River Warthe to meet the boundary of Posenania eight miles west-northwest of Birnbaum; thence east-northeast to the River Netze; thence up the River Netze to the bend eight miles southwest of Schneidemühl; thence west of Schneidemühl; thence northeast about five miles west of the Schneidemühl-Konitz Railway, and passing east of Schlochau to a point about three miles northwest of Kopnitz.

Thence it will run north to the old boundary of West Prussia, which it follows to a salient five miles southeast of Lauterburg; thence north to meet the Baltic about eight miles west of the old boundary of West Prussia.



GENERAL VIEW OF TERRITORIAL CHANGES IN THE MAP OF GERMANY



The new boundary of East Prussia (with reservations for plebiscites) leaves the Baltic and runs southwest up the River Nogat, and thence south up the River Vistula to about twelve miles southwest of Marienwerder; thence generally east to the former boundary; thence



CHANGES ON THE WESTERN BORDER OF GERMANY, WITH DEMILITARIZED AREA

southeast to the former boundary south of Neidenburg; thence from the former boundary to the River Niemen; thence from the River Niemen to a point near Nidden, and thence west by north to the Baltic.

Boundary areas for plebiscites:

Between the boundary of East Prussia, defined above, and the Marienwerder area: A line running from a point on the Nogat southwest of Elbing, eastward to the old western boundary of East Prussia, and then to the latter boundary southward.

The Allenstein area: The old western boundary of East Prussia on the west, and then a line running generally east-northeast to include Regierungsbezirk Allenstein and Kreis Gletzko.

Sarre Basin: Northern boundary, from the French frontier, west of Merzig, a line east by north to a point five miles north of St. Wendel. The eastern boundary runs thence southeast to pass east of Homburg, and then south to the French frontier south of Zwiesbrücken, so as to pass west of that place.

Areas for plebiscite in Schleswig: Between the present Danish frontier and a line running (1) through Flensburg Fjord, south of Tondern and north of the Island of Sylt; (2) from a point on the Baltic coast about eight miles east by north from Flensburg, southwest to a point about fifteen miles southwest of Flensburg, then northwest to Scholmer Au, just east of Soholm; thence from Scholmer Au to the coast; thence south of the Islands of Föhr and Amrum in the North Sea; (3) along the course of the Schlei, thence south of Schleswig to Reider Au, then down the stream, but passing east and south of Friedrichstadt before meeting the Eider, which it follows to the sea.

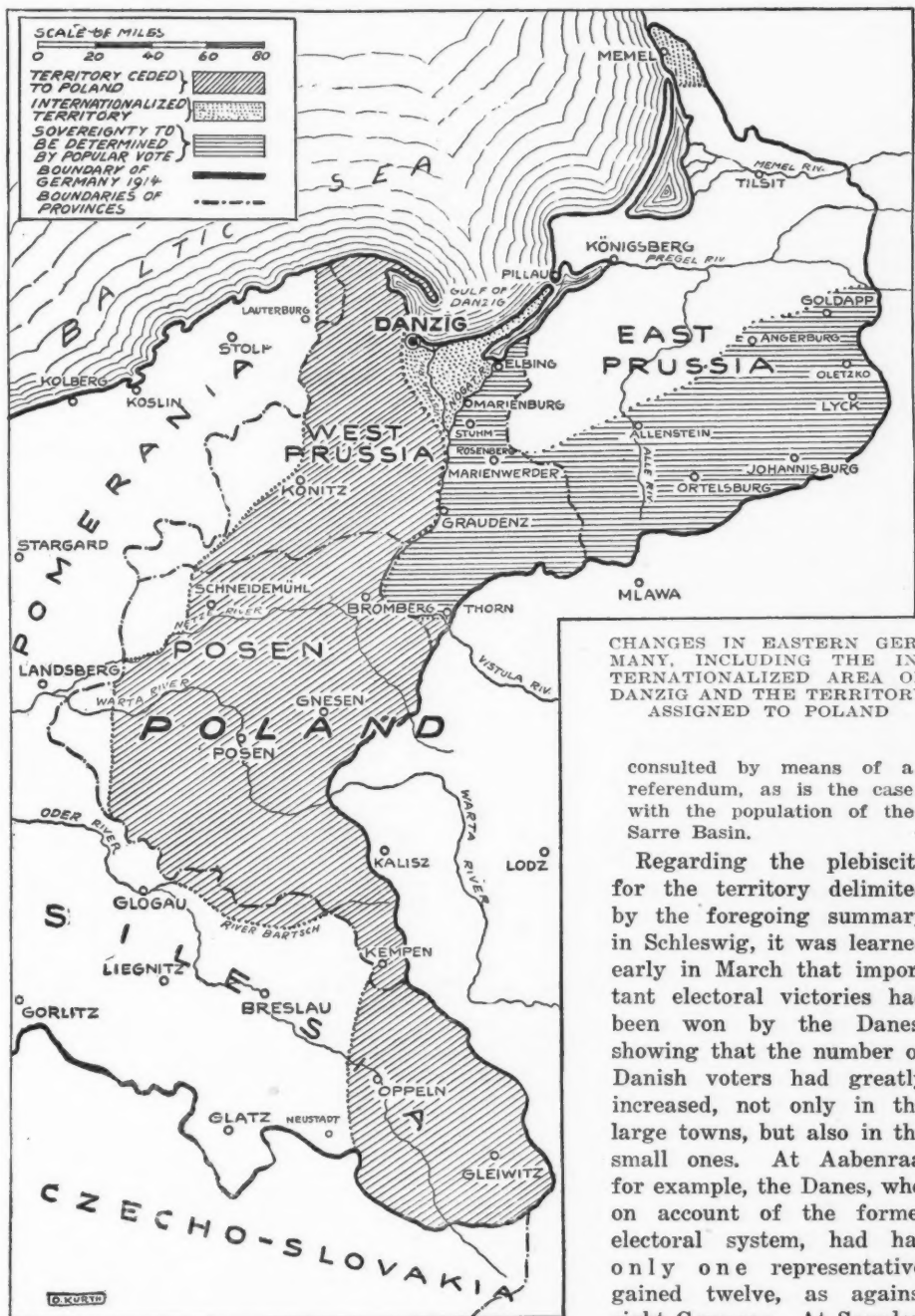
Boundaries of the free city of Danzig: On the east from the Baltic to the junction of the Dogat and the Vistula, the boundary of East Prussia as described above on the south and west, the River Vistula northward to about fifteen miles southeast of Danzig; thence west by south for about sixteen miles, thence west-northwest for about eight miles to Lonkenerze; thence to Pollenzinen; thence northeast for about twelve miles to about seven miles southeast of Danzig; thence north passing east of Oliva; thence northeast passing between Kolleken and Zopot to the Baltic about nine miles north-northwest of Danzig.

#### ON THE BELGIAN BORDER

It will be seen from the foregoing official summary that none of the territorial claims of Belgium were granted except that for the Malmédy region, in Rhenish Prussia, a short distance south of Aachen, (Aix-la-Chapelle,) the population of which before the war was largely Walloon. The territory on the left bank of the Scheldt River and Maastricht and the Limburg Peninsula were not mentioned in the peace terms. It was semi-officially stated on May 5, however, that the Council was favorable to requesting the Allies to support the initiation of negotiations with Holland regarding the settlement of the question of freedom of the Scheldt and the waterways of East Belgium.

The Walloons of Prussia on April 21 sent a dispatch to M. Clemenceau re-





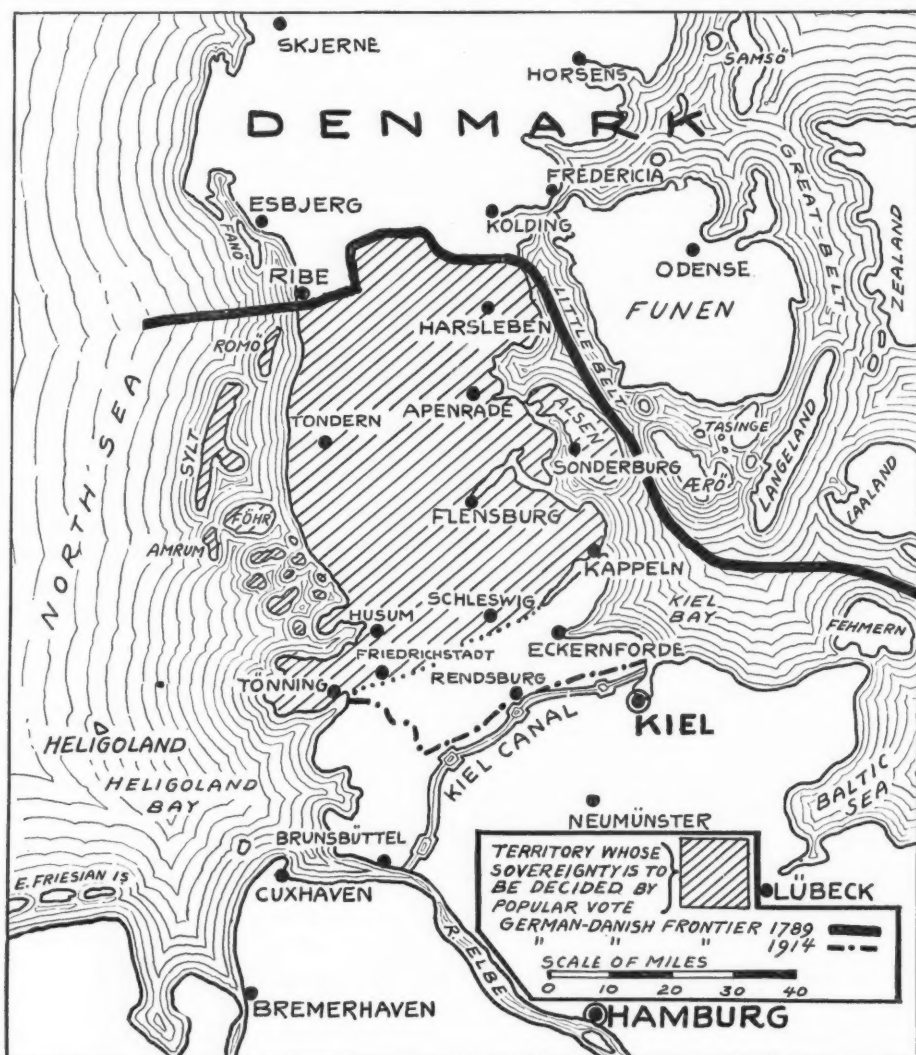
questioning that their annexation to Prussia be canceled. This memorandum said in part:

The inhabitants of cantons not Walloon, but indispensable to Belgium, might be

men were elected, and at Roedding eleven Danes and four Germans. These results excited the greatest satisfaction in Denmark.

After the publication of the boundary





SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN REGION, WHERE THE BOUNDARY IS TO BE DETERMINED BY A POPULAR VOTE

decisions, however, it was stated in Copenhagen, on May 11, that the clause of the Peace Treaty providing for a plebiscite in Southern Schleswig was causing dissatisfaction in Denmark, where it was felt that the presence of so many Germans as would by this decision be included within the confines of Denmark would lead to racial conflicts in the future. The Political Committee of the Rigsdag, on the date mentioned, after conferring with the Government, telegraphed the Danish Minister in Paris that the Danish Government and the

Rigsdag insisted on the application of the principle of nationality.

The terms to be incorporated in the peace treaty concerning the Kiel Canal and Heligoland were revised in several important particulars. It was the original plan to destroy the fortifications of the canal, making it a strictly commercial waterway without defenses. The changes that now have been made leave the present fortifications in existence, and provisions have also been inserted permitting of the continuance of the present coast defenses, all of which were to have



been destroyed according to the original plan.

The changes concerning Heligoland leave intact the present large basin constructed on an extensive scale for the use of submarines during the war. It was concluded that the use of submarines had now been so restricted that the basin no longer constituted a menace, and its continuance was decided upon as providing a useful haven for the North Sea fishing fleet in case of distress. The fortifications of Heligoland are to be dismantled, so that the basin is virtually the only thing retained.

#### OTHER BOUNDARY QUESTIONS

Apart from the territorial dispute between Italy and Yugoslavia over Dalmatia and the city of Fiume, treated elsewhere in this issue, there are other boundary questions whose solution by the Peace Conference is not yet definitely known, and around which centres considerable feeling on the part of nations with conflicting views. The report that a mandate over German East Africa would be given to Great Britain, for instance, created great excitement in Belgium.

After Paul Hymans, head of the Belgian delegation, had discussed the rights of Belgium in German East Africa on May 9, Premier Lloyd George telegraphed Viscount Milner, British Secretary for the Colonies, to come to Paris. On his arrival questions concerning the East African mandate were to be considered again.

The Belgian delegation on May 8 issued a note relative to Great Britain being appointed mandatary for German East Africa, saying that it was "unable to believe that this action had been taken by the Council of Four." The note continued:

In view of Belgium's important military operations in Africa, her sacrifices to in-

sure the conquest of German East Africa, and the fact that her situation has given her rights on that continent, Belgium is unable to admit that German East Africa could be disposed of by agreements in which she has not participated.

The Belgian delegation called at American headquarters on May 8 and made energetic representations regarding the mandate for German East Africa.

In Austrian Tyrol claims were set forth to independent nationality by the delegates of the Tyrolean National Council in Switzerland, Walter Lutzl and Dr. Otto Guggenberg, in a lengthy memorial to President Wilson, published on April 13. The hardy mountaineers of the Tyrolean Alps complained that Italy wanted to swallow up their country, which was part of the former Austrian Empire, and furnished the former Emperor Charles's army with one of its crack regiments, the Tyrolean sharpshooters.

Speaking, so they asserted, for "several hundred thousand German Tyroleans," the delegates contended that the loss of Southern Tyrol—otherwise known as the Trentino—including part of the German Tyrol, which is claimed by Italy, would be the death blow to their economic independence, and that, by its enforced incorporation with Italy, "another Alsace-Lorraine" would be created.

The final disposition of the Dodecanesus Islands, ceded to Italy by the Treaty of London of 1915, was still in abeyance on May 15, but the following day it was announced that Italy had relinquished her claims to these islands. This ended an acute controversy. The question of the future of the islands involved the question of self-determination, as the population is Greek. Italy has held the islands since the Tripolitan war in 1912, but now retires under the terms of the Treaty of Ouchy, which provided that they should be held until Turkey withdrew her officers from her former African possessions.



# The Dispute Over Fiume

## Adjusting the Conflicting Claims of Italians and Jugoslavs on the Adriatic

**B**ITTEREST of all the boundary disputes that had to be settled by the Peace Conference was the one between Italy and Jugoslavia regarding the possession of the city and harbor of Fiume and of part of Dalmatia. The Italian delegates held that, under the principle of national self-determination, Fiume should and must be Italian, since most of the people in the city proper were Italians. President Wilson, however, held that under this principle the whole region must belong to Jugoslavia, because the vast majority of the inhabitants outside of the city proper were Jugoslavs. Both sides were inflexible, and the controversy at length reached a crisis in which the whole Italian delegation withdrew for a time from the Peace Conference. The story of this episode is worth telling in detail.

Italy's claim to part of the Dalmatian coast dates back to a promise made to her in the Pact of London, signed by her and the Entente in 1915, when she entered the war. Fiume, however, was not given to Italy in that treaty. Italy's claim to this important seaport was a later development, and was based on the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The Council of Four labored for weeks to reconcile the conflicting claims of Italy and Jugoslavia, and the struggle in Paris was marked by growing hostility between the two nations at home. The Southern Slavs declared that their commerce would be strangled in its infancy if they were denied this, their only good port. The Italians asserted that they must have this port to insure Italy's future safety against aggression from Austria and against the Jugoslavs themselves, who had been their enemies during the war, and who still had Austrian sympathies. If Fiume were given to Jugoslavia, the Italians contended, the result would be an irresistible westward pressure on the

part of the nations of the Jugoslav hinterland, which would menace the national security of Italy.

The tension was such that the two delegations had to be heard separately. Matters began to come to a crisis as early as April 20, when President Wilson temporarily withdrew from the Council of Four, leaving the discussion to be carried on by Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando. The sentiment of Great Britain and France was in favor of a compromise favorable to Italy, as against President Wilson's definite and convinced objection to the transfer of Fiume to Italy. Both Great Britain and France were embarrassed by the Treaty of London ceding part of the Dalmatian Coast to Italy; this, Italy insisted, was still effective, but she was willing to modify it in exchange for Fiume, whose possession she considered imperative.

### NEARING AN IMPASSE

On April 20 Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino made it known that when the Italian Parliament reopened they would have to have definite knowledge of the Peace Conference's decision, and if it were averse they would have to leave for Rome to submit the matter to a Parliamentary vote.

Baron Sonnino continued to take an extreme position, insisting upon the integral fulfillment of the secret treaty of London, giving to Italy the entire Dalmatian coast and islands, and also claiming the City of Fiume, without internationalization or division with the Jugoslavs. Premier Orlando was rather more conciliatory, although a telegram which he had received from the heads of the Italian Army declared that the entire army was behind him in upholding Italy's aspirations. Captain Tozzi of Premier Orlando's staff said that the telegram was in effect an ultimatum, and showed how universal and deep rooted was the



Italian determination to gain adequate protection on the eastern Adriatic coast. He added that if these rights were not recognized Italy would undoubtedly adopt its own course, without reference to the conference, and occupy the regions to which she considered herself entitled.

On April 23 President Wilson issued an emphatic declaration that he would not yield on the Adriatic question. This statement created a profound sensation in the Peace Conference. The peace delegates generally regarded it as a challenge which would once for all dispose of the question whether secret documents, of which many nations participating in the war were ignorant, were to figure in the coming peace. The President's statement, it was said, came as a complete surprise, as it had been supposed that his objection had been part of a diplomatic game; the Italian delegates particularly, it was said, had so regarded it. For several days it had been generally known that the President had prepared a statement which he had presented to the entire American delegation, and that the delegation had approved it; but there was no suspicion that his position was so unalterable.

#### PRESIDENT WILSON'S STATEMENT

The full text of President Wilson's statement is given herewith:

In view of the capital importance of the questions affected, and in order to throw all possible light upon what is involved in their settlement, I hope that the following statement will contribute to the final formation of opinion and to a satisfactory solution:

When Italy entered the war she entered upon the basis of a definite private understanding with Great Britain and France, now known as the Pact of London.\* Since that time the whole face of circumstances has been altered. Many other powers, great and small, have entered the struggle, with no knowledge of that private understanding.

The Austro-Hungarian Empire, then the enemy of Europe, and at whose expense the Pact of London was to be kept in the event of victory, has gone to pieces and no longer exists. Not only that, but the several parts of that empire, it is agreed now by Italy and all her associates, are to be erected into independent States and associated in a League of Nations, not

with those who were recently our enemies, but with Italy herself and the powers that stood with Italy in the great war for liberty.

We are to establish their liberty as well as our own. They are to be among the smaller States whose interests are henceforth to be safeguarded as scrupulously as those of the most powerful States.

The war was ended, moreover, by proposing to Germany an armistice and peace which should be founded on certain clearly defined principles which set up a new order of right and justice. Upon those principles the peace with Germany has been conceived not only, but formulated. Upon those principles it will be executed.

We cannot ask the great body of powers to propose and effect peace with Austria, and establish a new basis of independence and right in the States which originally constituted the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and deal with the States of the Balkan group on principles of another kind. We must apply the same principles to the settlement of Europe in those quarters that we have applied in the peace with Germany. It was upon the explicit avowal of those principles that the initiative for peace was taken. It was upon them that the whole structure of peace must rest.

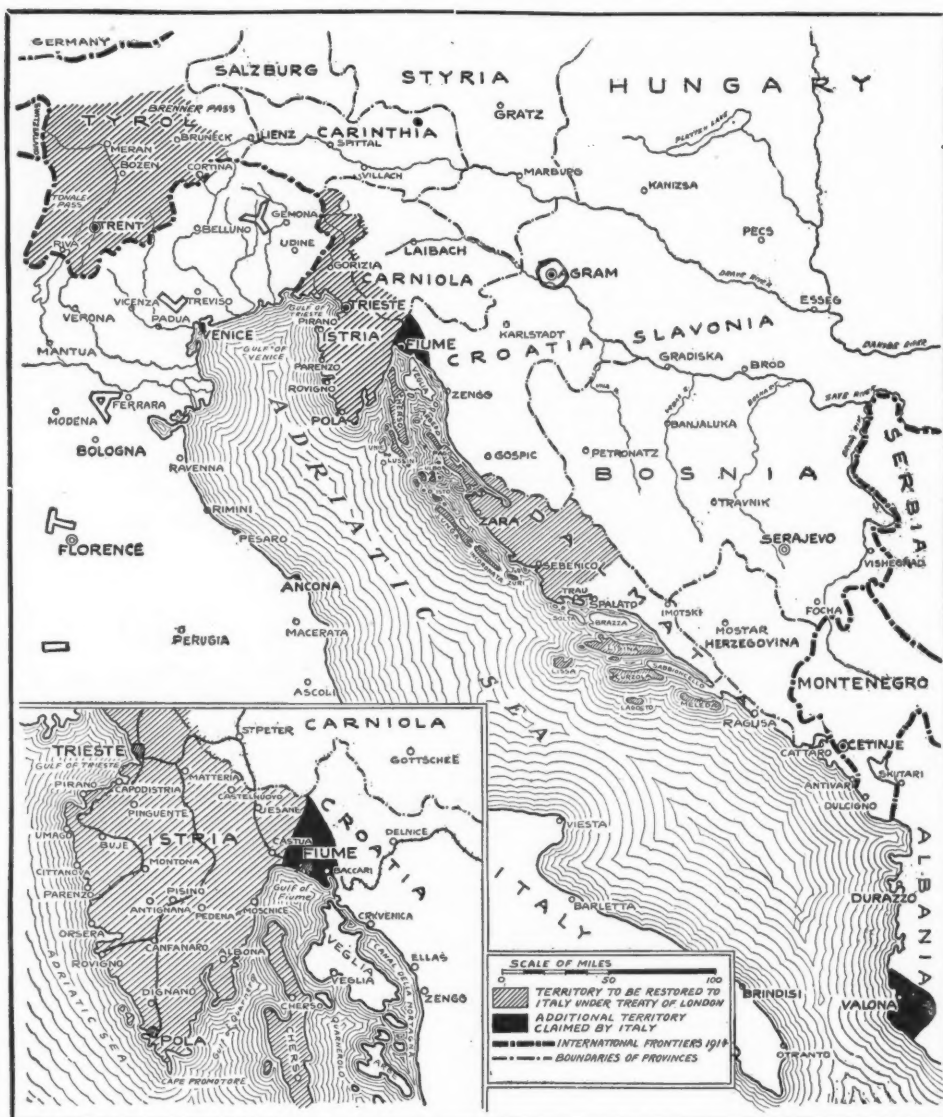
#### FIUME A GATEWAY

If those principles are to be adhered to Fiume must serve as the outlet of the commerce, not of Italy, but of the land to the north and northeast of that port, Hungary, Bohemia, Rumania, and the States of the new Yugoslav group. To assign Fiume to Italy would be to create the feeling that we have deliberately put the port upon which all those countries chiefly depend for their access to the Mediterranean in the hands of a power of which it did not form an integral part, and whose sovereignty, if set up there, must inevitably seem foreign, not domestic or identified with the commercial and industrial life of the regions which the port must serve. It is for that reason, no doubt, that Fiume was not included in the Pact of London, but was definitely assigned to the Croatsians.

And the reason why the line of the Pact of London swept about many of the islands of the eastern coast of the Adriatic and around the portion of the Dalmatian coast which lies most open to that sea was not only that here and there on those islands, and here and there on that coast, there are bodies of people of Italian blood and connection, but also, and no doubt chiefly, because it was felt that it was necessary for Italy to have a foothold amid the channels of the Eastern Adriatic in order that she might make her own coasts safe against the naval aggression of Austria-Hungary.

\* Printed in Current History in March, 1918.





MAP SHOWING FIUME AND THE TERRITORY CLAIMED BY ITALY UNDER THE PACT OF LONDON

But Austria-Hungary no longer exists. It is proposed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government constructed there shall be razed and permanently destroyed.

It is part also of the new plan of European order which centres in the League of Nations that the new States erected there shall accept a limitation of armaments which puts aggression out of the question. There can be no fear of the unfair treatment of groups of Italian people there, because adequate guarantees will be given, under international sanction, of the equal

and equitable treatment of all racial or national minorities.

#### FACING NEW CONDITIONS

In brief, every question associated with this settlement wears a new aspect—a new aspect given it by the very victory for right for which Italy has made the supreme sacrifice of blood and treasure. Italy, along with the four other great powers, has become one of the chief trustees of the new order which she has played so honorable a part in establishing.

And on the north and northeast her



natural frontiers are completely restored, along the whole sweep of the Alps from northwest to southeast to the very end of the Istrian Peninsula, including all the great watershed within which Trieste and Pola lie, and all the fair regions whose face nature has turned toward the great peninsula upon which the historic life of the Latin people has been worked out through centuries of famous story ever since Rome was first set upon her seven hills.

Her ancient unity is restored. Her lines are extended to the great walls which are her natural defense. It is within her choice to be surrounded by friends; to exhibit to the newly liberated peoples across the Adriatic that noblest quality of greatness, magnanimity, friendly generosity, the preference of justice over interest.

The nations associated with her, the nations that know nothing of the Pact of London or of any other special understanding that lies at the beginning of this great struggle, and who have made their supreme sacrifice also in the interest, not of national advantage or defense, but of the settled peace of the world, are now united with her older associates in urging her to assume a leadership which cannot be mistaken in the new order of Europe.

#### AMERICA'S OBLIGATION

America is Italy's friend. Her people are drawn, millions strong, from Italy's own fair countrysides. She is linked in blood, as well as in affection, with the Italian people. Such ties can never be broken. And America was privileged, by the generous commission of her associates in the war, to initiate the peace we are about to consummate—to initiate it upon terms which she had herself formulated and in which I was her spokesman.

The compulsion is upon her to square every decision she takes a part in with those principles. She can do nothing else. She trusts Italy, and in her trust believes that Italy will ask nothing of her that cannot be made unmistakably consistent with those sacred obligations.

The interests are not now in question, but the rights of peoples, of States new and old, of liberated peoples and peoples whose rulers have never accounted them worthy of a right; above all, the right of the world to peace and to such settlements of interest as shall make peace secure.

These, and these only, are the principles for which America has fought. These, and these only, are the principles upon which she can consent to make peace. Only upon these principles, she hopes and believes, will the people of Italy ask her to make peace.

President Wilson's statement appeared in the Paris papers in the afternoon of April 23, and it was said at the Italian

headquarters that this was the first that the Italian delegates had known of it. After a conference held by the Italian delegation, it was announced the same afternoon that the delegates would leave Paris the following day. Premier Orlando addressed an official communication to Premier Clemenceau as President of the Peace Conference, saying that as a result of the declaration by President Wilson the Italian delegation had decided to leave Paris at 2 o'clock April 24. The Italian Vice Admiral, Thaon di Reval, former Naval Chief of Staff, left for Rome on the 23d.

#### A CRISIS PRECIPITATED

Premier Orlando, Foreign Minister Sonnino, and Salvatore Barzilai, Antonio Salandra, and Marquis Salvago Raggi, the other Italian delegates, attended the conference at headquarters which examined the situation created by the President's statement.

Premier Orlando expressed profound surprise at the declaration of President Wilson, which, he said, came at a time when he was "about to make a supreme attempt at conciliation." He added:

The Italian delegates, hoping to see the Italian problem adjusted amicably, might have taken some other decision than ceasing to collaborate in the labors of the Conference, had this statement not been issued. \* \* \* I will address a message to the Italian people, who will express themselves.

#### ORLANDO'S REPLY TO WILSON

Premier Orlando issued a long statement on April 24 replying to President Wilson, which read as follows:

Yesterday, while the Italian delegation was discussing counterpropositions which had been received from the British Prime Minister, and which had for their aim the conciliation of contradictory tendencies which were manifested concerning Italian territorial aspirations, the Paris newspapers published a message from the President of the United States, in which he expressed his own thought on one of the gravest problems which have been submitted to the judgment of the conference.

The practice of addressing nations directly constitutes surely an innovation in international relations. I do not wish to complain, but I wish to record it as a precedent, so that at my own time I may follow it, inasmuch as this new cus-



tom doubtless constitutes the granting to nations of larger participation in international questions, and, personally, I have always been of the opinion that such participation was the harbinger of a new order of things.

Nevertheless, if these appeals are to be considered as addressed to nations outside of the Governments which represent them, (I might say even against the Governments,) I should feel deep regret in recalling that this process, heretofore applied to enemy Governments, is today applied for the first time to a Government which has been and intends to remain a loyal ally of the great American Republic, namely, the Italian Government. \* \* \*

Above all, I should have the right to complain if the declarations of the Presidential message have the purpose to oppose the Italian people to the Italian Government, because it would misconstrue and deny the high degree of civilization which the Italian people has attained and its democratic and liberal régime.

To place the Italian people in opposition to the Government would be to admit that this great free nation would submit to the yoke of a will other than its own, and I should be forced to protest strongly against suppositions unjustly offensive to my country.

Premier Orlando declared that President Wilson was "treating the Italians as if they were a barbarous people without a democratic Government." He further said that he had never denied that the Treaty of London did not apply to Fiume, but declared that the Italian claim was based on the principles of President Wilson's Fourteen Points.

#### ITALY'S NATURAL DEFENSES

Citing the President's argument that the concessions granted bring Italy to its natural defenses, the Alps, Signor Orlando said:

This recognition is of great importance, provided that the eastern flank of this wall does not remain open and that the right of Italy should be interpreted to include the line of Monte Nevoso, [north and west of Fiume,] which separates the waters running toward the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Without this protection a dangerous breach is left in this admirable barrier of the Alps, rupturing the unquestionable political, economic, and historical unity of the Istrian Peninsula. I contend, furthermore, that he who is entitled to the honor of proclaiming to the world the right of the free determination of peoples should recognize this right for

Fiume, an ancient Italian city which proclaimed its Italian nature before the Italian ships arrived—an admirable example of national consciousness perpetuated throughout centuries.

To deny this right only because of the small number concerned would mean the admission that the criterion of justice toward peoples varies according to their territorial extent.

He concluded his statement with an expression of the "profound sympathy which the Italian people professes toward the American people."

#### ITALIAN DELEGATION DEPARTS

Immediately following the issuance of this reply a last interview was arranged at Lloyd George's residence by the British Premier himself, between the Italian delegates, on the one hand, and Wilson, Clemenceau, and Lloyd George on the other. The conference was long. It was stated that at this meeting the whole controversy was reviewed, but though the tone of the official communiqué was encouraging, no definite results were stated. On the same day, (April 24,) Premier Orlando, accompanied by the Italian plenipotentiaries, Diaz and Barzilai, departed for Rome.

Premier Orlando stated before his departure that there had been no actual rupture with the conference. It had been decided, he said, that he would make an official statement to the Italian Parliament.

#### EFFECT IN ITALY

The news of Premier Orlando's decision to return to Rome from the Peace Conference was cheered by vast throngs in the streets of the Italian capital on April 24, the people applauding enthusiastically whenever the names of Italy, Fiume, Dalmatia, Orlando or Sonnino were mentioned by speakers. Telegrams from all the large towns of Italy reported great demonstrations and much public excitement. The American, British, and French embassies and the offices of the Socialist newspaper *Avanti* were each guarded by 200 soldiers to avoid possible incidents.

The Rome newspapers were unanimous in declaring that the Italian program as set forth by its delegation at Paris rep-



resented the minimum demands compatible with the dignity and safety of Italy. The Italian press as a whole took the position that the withdrawal of the Italian delegation from the Peace Conference was inevitable if Italy's aspirations should not be recognized.

Gabriele d'Annunzio, the author-aviator, sent a message to Fiume, reading:

He who is ready to convert a war cry into action needs to fear nothing. I promise you victory. I will be amidst you in the supreme moment. Watch and be silent.

Popular feeling ran high in Rome, the chief resentment being shown against President Wilson. In all the cities of Italy demonstrations were in progress, the streets being decorated with Dalmatian and Fiume flags, while all political disputes were dropped—even in Milan, where the Socialists had caused disturbances—in view of what was regarded as an invasion of Italian rights and dignity. Gabriele d'Annunzio, in a fiery message to a Rome demonstration, on April 24, reasserted the determination of his supporters to defend Italian possession of Fiume and Dalmatia at the point of the sword should the Paris Conference utter an adverse verdict. The nationalist press was full of bitter attacks upon Wilson, Lloyd George, and Great Britain generally.

#### ORLANDO IN ROME

The Italian Premier arrived in Rome on April 26, and received an enthusiastic ovation. He addressed the great crowd that had assembled to welcome him, saying that this was not a time for fine language in the face of the world, which was judging Italy. "We must," he declared, "have firmness and a calm, serene conscience." The first question was to decide whether the Italian delegates had interpreted correctly the thoughts and will of the Italian people; the second was to eliminate if possible the gravity of the situation. He continued:

We must show that we have taken the worst into consideration. After four years of unspeakable privations and sacrifices we may find ourselves faced with fresh sacrifices and privations. \* \* \* Food supplies are failing us, but Italy, which has known hunger, has never known dishonor. \* \* \* I do not conceal from you

the danger of this very critical hour.

\* \* \* It may be that we shall find ourselves alone, but Italy must be united and have a single will. Italy will not perish.

Amid wildly cheering throngs, the Premier's car was drawn by the people to the royal palace in Quirinal Square; some idea of the number gathered is indicated by the fact that it took the Premier two hours to cover this short distance. He was repeatedly obliged to address the people amid vociferous applause. All Rome was beflagged. Offices and shops were closed. Some 200 associations, with banners inscribed "Italy, Fiume, Dalmatia," were among the welcomers. At the station, also, were all the Cabinet Ministers of Rome, high officials of State, the Prefects, Prince Colonna, Mayor of Rome, and 300 Senators and Deputies; also many maimed soldiers, and red-shirted Garibaldians. It was announced that all political parties had approved the stand of the Italian delegation to the Peace Conference.

Sonnino, who left Paris after Orlando, arrived in Rome on April 28, and received an enthusiastic reception. On his arrival he called on all Italians to unite in their support of the Government which "represents a country which is united and which will win." Both Premier Orlando and Signor Sonnino, it was stated, on April 28, had become "the idols" of Rome, their residences being surrounded by large crowds, and their every public appearance being hailed by wild enthusiasm.

#### ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT

On the following day, (April 29,) the Premier laid his appeal before the Italian Parliament. An address was made by the Prime Minister, which was frequently interrupted by applause, and was followed by an ovation in the Chamber.

Premier Orlando said that all through the period of negotiation to frame peace terms with the Germans the relations of the Italian delegation with the allied and associated powers could not have been more amicable or cordial. He added:

If it was possible to deduce from our conversations the divergencies of views between the Governments, and, above all, between the Italians and Americans,



there never had been reason to believe these divergencies were absolutely irreconcilable, but up to the time of the delivery of the memorandum, on April 14, by President Wilson, setting forth the American view, assurances had been given that the American delegation had not reached a definite decision regarding the Italian question.

There were certainly divergencies of views between the two Governments, (Italy and the United States,) but never did I believe that such differences were irreconcilable. Indeed, until April 14, when the American memorandum was delivered to us, I had always been assured that the American delegation had not reached any definite conclusions regarding us. Several times I stated with firmness consistent with courtesy that the program of the Italian territorial claims was based on essential cardinal points of acceptance, which was an absolute condition for the Italian Government.

This is, synthetically, the history of the activity of the Italian delegation from the middle of March to April 13, when the convocation of the German delegates was agreed upon, with a reserve provision.

On April 14 I had two long conversations with President Wilson, in which the whole Italian territorial question was profoundly discussed. Mr. Wilson concluded by handing me a memorandum, saying it represented the decision of the American Government on the question, and authorizing me to communicate the same to the Italian Parliament. I have distributed it today to all members.

President Wilson's message prevented us from refusing, as well as accepting, any proposal without first appealing to the Italian people and Parliament, which alone are entitled to pass judgment on the conduct and responsibility of the Italian Government.

This, therefore, is my duty—to ask before this National Assembly whether the Italian Government and delegation, acting as they did, were faithful interpreters of the thought and will of Parliament and the country.

#### THE ANGLO-FRENCH VIEW

The point of view of England and France can be summed up as follows: They have always recognized with perfect loyalty the pledge of honor contained in the Treaty of Alliance between them and Italy, intending faithfully to respect it, but they have declared that as that treaty does not include, and, indeed, excludes, Fiume from the Italian claims, they do not concur with Italy on this question.

They would only admit the principle of making Fiume an independent free State, on condition, however, that this would occur as a compromise and not as an addition to the integral execution of the conditions of the treaty.

It only remains for me to expound further the Italian viewpoint. Italy firmly believes, before all, that her aspirations, as I set them forth in my answer to President Wilson's message, are founded on such high and solemn reasons of justice and right that they should be integrally accepted, even putting aside any international treaty or agreement. I need not repeat the reasons of historic right and national solidarity which are engraved in the heart of every Italian so that they become an absolute part of our nature.

I wish, however, to repeat a simple fact, to wit: That if all Italy's aspirations were accepted in their entirety, Italy would have, in proportion to her population, a number of inhabitants inferior to those assigned to other States as a consequence of the war. Therefore, the accusation of entertaining imperialistic sentiments grieves and offends us.

This nation, which certainly has given no proofs of cupidity in discussing the billions requested for reparation, and which has shown no excessive signs of emotion one way or another even when vast and rich territories had to be distributed in Africa and Asia among belligerents, and which has demonstrated that she prefers sentiment to utility until her attitude was a fault, has given the highest proof that she was fighting for her sacred rights.

Regaining in this hour all her energies and will and finding her reserves of enthusiasm and sacrifice inexhaustible, Italy has made it not a question of billions, nor colonies, nor rich territories, but the suffering cry of her own brothers.

Regarding relations between us and our allies, we esteem and love the generous people of France and England and the Governments which represent them. Perhaps we love and esteem them too much, so that we may not be sure that we will realize our rights, which come from contracts which pledge them and their honor. It must also be considered that in making these relations there is a sentiment which must be maintained between friend and friend, and Italy, perhaps, measured according to her contract the extent of the sacrifices which the war imposed.

#### EARLIER MEMORANDUM

President Wilson's memorandum of April 14, to which Signor Orlando referred in the foregoing speech, was in part as follows:

Personally, I am quite willing that Italy should be accorded along the whole front of her northern frontier, and wherever she comes into contact with Austrian territory, all that was accorded her in the so-called Pact of London, but I am of the clear opinion that the Pact of London can no longer



apply to the settlement of her eastern boundaries. \* \* \*

It is with these facts in mind that I have approached the Adriatic question. It is commonly agreed, and I very heartily adhere to the agreement, that the ports of Trieste and Pola, and with them the greater part of the Istrian Peninsula, should be ceded to Italy, her eastern frontier running along the natural strategic line established by the physical conformation of the country—a line which it has been attempted to draw with some degree of accuracy on the attached map.

Within this line on the Italian side will lie considerable bodies of non-Italian populations, but their fortunes are so naturally linked by the nature of the country itself with the rest of the Italian people that I think their inclusion is fully justified.

There would be no justification in my judgment in including Fiume, or any part of the coastline to the south of Fiume, within the boundaries of the Italian Kingdom. Fiume is by situation and by all the circumstances of its development not an Italian, but an international, port serving the countries to the east and north of the Gulf of Fiume.

Just because it is an international port and cannot with justice be subordinated to any one sovereignty, it is my clear judgment that it should enjoy a very considerable degree of genuine autonomy, and while it should be included no doubt within the customs system of the new Jugoslavic State, it should nevertheless be left free in its own interest, and in the interest of the States lying about it, to devote itself to the service of the commerce which naturally and inevitably seeks an outlet or inlet at its port.

The States which it serves will be new States. They will have complete confidence in their access to an outlet on the sea. The friendship and the connections of the future will largely depend upon such an arrangement as I have suggested, and friendship, co-operation, and freedom of action must underlie every arrangement of peace if peace is to be lasting.

I believe there will be common agreement that the Island of Lissa should be ceded to Italy, and that she should retain the port of Volpna. I believe that it will be generally agreed that the fortifications which the Austrian Government established upon the islands near the eastern coast of the Adriatic should be permanently dispensed with under international guarantee, and that the disarmament which is to be arranged under the League of Nations should limit the States on the eastern coast of the Adriatic to only such minor naval forces as are necessary for policing the waters of the islands and the coast. These are conclusions which I am forced to by compulsion of the understandings which underlie the whole initiation of the present peace. \* \* \*

At the very outset we shall have avoided the fatal error of making Italy's nearest

neighbors on her east her enemies, and nursing just such a sense of injustice as has disturbed the peace of Europe for generations together, and played no small part in bringing on the terrible conflict through which we have just passed.

### VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

After hearing Premier Orlando's speech the Italian Chamber of Deputies voted confidence in the Cabinet by a ballot of 382 to 40, the latter votes being cast by Socialists. The following day (April 30) this vote in the Chamber was followed by a similar vote, in this case unanimous, in the Italian Senate.

After this double confirmation of the Cabinet's course the popular excitement in Italy somewhat abated. The dominant note of expectation implied that the Italian delegates would return to the Peace Conference with increased authority. The same note was struck in several of the leading papers. The Tribuna stated that President Wilson's appeal to the Italian people had been answered. The Popolo Romano declared that the five great powers must agree on the Italian question, or Italy would be obliged to act independently. Other papers attacked President Wilson less vehemently. Thomas Nelson Page, the American Ambassador to Italy, had a long interview on April 30 with Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino, after which he sent a telegraphic report to Paris, giving a full account of the point of view of the Italians and the Italian Government.

It was stated from Paris on April 29 that the British Prime Minister had intervened in the Italian situation by sending one of his trusted associates to communicate personally with Premier Orlando in Rome. The representative, it was said, bore a message advising Signor Orlando against the inclusion of Fiume under Italian control as likely to make a settlement difficult if not impossible.

### DELEGATION'S ACTIVITY IN ROME

After the resolution of confidence passed by the Italian Parliament at Rome on April 29 upholding the Orlando-Sonnino Government in the policy pursued at the Peace Conference, Italy set-



tled down to what might be described as a state of anxious waiting. The resolution was interpreted in Paris as a signal of conciliation, because it made no specific mention either of Fiume or Dalmatia, but spoke only in general terms of the rights of Italy. The language used had left scope for Orlando's return to Paris.

The Italian delegates, meanwhile, did not remain idle in Rome. On April 30 the delegation met under the chairmanship of Orlando, after conferences held by the Premier with the King and the American Ambassador, Thomas Nelson Page. Other meetings held in Rome with Mr. Page, Mr. Griffiths, former Parliamentary Under Secretary to the British Home Office, and Camille Barrère, the French Ambassador at Rome, brought progress in the direction of the eventual return of the Italian delegation to France. It was stated definitely in Paris on May 4 that the immediate cause of this return was an invitation sent to Orlando by the Council of Three, inviting him and his colleagues to resume their place at the Peace Conference; the previous week it had been announced that Premier Lloyd George had even sent a British representative to Rome to bring about such a return.

#### ITALIAN DELEGATION RETURNS

M. Clemenceau received word in Paris May 5 that the Italian delegation was leaving Rome on the evening of that day; this information was transmitted by the Italian Ambassador in Paris. Pending the delegation's arrival the Italian Ambassador was designated to represent Italy in the meeting of the Executive Committee of the League of Nations held on that date.

The French newspaper *Le Temps* stated that the Italian decision to return was taken spontaneously by the delegates after full discussions with the official

personages already named; another paper, *La Liberté*, said that the conferences with Ambassador Page and Ambassador Barrère were especially important in smoothing away the differences between the Italian and the allied point of view. Meanwhile the Italian credentials were forwarded by courier to the Conference, and arrived in time to be presented to the German delegation headed by von Brockdorff-Rantzau, thus formally reinstating Italy as among the nations included both in the Peace Treaty itself and in the League of Nations Covenant incorporated therein.

President Wilson, it appeared, had had no share in the invitation to the Italians to return; this invitation had been sent by the French and British Premiers alone. Subsequent events showed that the President had not changed his views on Fiume and Dalmatia, and that the Italians had, therefore, come back without any plenary assurance that their demands would be granted. This was confirmed on May 6 by the head of the Italian Press Bureau in Paris, who declared that Orlando and his colleagues were returning to Paris on their own initiative.

After its arrival at the Conference the Italian delegation remained in seclusion and gave out no statement to the press. Meantime the conferences regarding the Italian claims went on. Continuous discussion from May 15 to May 17 resulted in considerable concessions on Italy's part, including recognition of Fiume as a free city, and the giving up of important portions of Istria; also Italy's renunciation of her claims to the Greek-populated Dodecanese Islands. The Italians, however, were still unwilling to yield Zara and Sebenico, on the Dalmatian coast. The final settlement had not been announced when this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* went to press.



## Official Claims of Both Sides in the Fiume Controversy

*Both the Yugoslav and the Italian claims on the east shore of the Adriatic, with the issues involved, are presented herewith:*

**D**R. TRUMBICH, Foreign Secretary of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, issued a statement on April 9, 1919, with a view to having the case for which he stood brought to the attention of public opinion. He had on two or three separate occasions stated the claims of his people before the Peace Conference. On the first two occasions when he met the Council of Ten the Italians were present, and he and his fellow-nationals regarded this as unfortunate on the ground that the Italian delegates were in the position of being judges in their own case. In the chief meeting before the Council of Four the procedure followed was that Signor Orlando developed his case before the other three. He then retired, and Dr. Trumbich pleaded his cause. He said:

Our principal demand is, as the world knows, for the port of Fiume and for the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Despite all that has been said, I would insist that Fiume is the only possible port that can serve our kingdom. Those taking a different view have suggested that our needs can be met by another port. As Spalato has been mentioned, I would point out that it is hopeless for our purposes. The port itself would have to be created. Fiume took the Hungarians fifty years to make, and Spalato has no proper port. Railways would have to be built, which would involve the cutting of tunnels as difficult as those running through the St. Gothard. In other words, unless Fiume is given to our kingdom our outlet to the sea cannot really exist, and we start our national life with our commerce strangled.

### POPULATION OF FIUME

On all grounds Fiume belongs to us. Ethnographically it is ours. Take the official Austro-Hungarian statistics for 1910, which in themselves are hostile to us. It is there stated that there were in the city 24,212 Italians and 15,687 Yugoslavs. What is ignored is that Fiume is really joined up with the town of Sushak, and a tourist would not know when he was passing from one to the other. The population of Sushak consists of 658 Ital-

ians and 11,706 Yugoslavs. Fiume and Sushak together, therefore, number 24,870 Italians and 27,393 Yugoslavs. It is unnecessary perhaps to do more than mention that historically Fiume is Croatian. In 1848 its inhabitants were 691 Italians and 11,581 Yugoslavs. The city has never entered into Italian history, the closest approach to this being its seizure by the Venetians in 1509. It was then, however, held only for a very short time.

I can put forward similar claims as regards the eastern shores of the Adriatic. All along the coast the population is predominantly Yugoslav, Italians being in a majority only in the town of Zara, while all the Dalmatian towns and islands and the whole hinterland are admittedly Yugoslav. The one obstacle to our claims is the existence of the secret agreement of 1915. Now we were no party to that agreement, and by the nature of things it cannot be regarded as binding. It was concluded at a time when it was partly expected that Russia would be granted Constantinople. For that reason it was natural—with the emergence of Russia as a Mediterranean power—that Italy should wish to be strengthened to meet any possible danger. By the nature of things it is for the Peace Conference to decide these territorial questions from the actual present-day standpoint, and if this is done I feel confident that our claims will be recognized as just.

### SERBIAN MINISTER'S VIEW

A further exposition of the Yugoslav claims, covering aspects of the question not treated in the official pronouncement printed above, is contained in a statement by Yovan Yovanovitch, Serbian Minister to Great Britain, published on April 27:

Fiume is a point to which the routes from Zagreb (Agram) and Belgrade converge and gravitate. It is in a sense the natural sea outlet for all Croatia, Bosnia, Hungary, Serbia, Batchka, the Banat, Rumania, Bohemia, (Czechoslovakia,) Poland, and Austria.

To quote the official statistics of 1910, the town of Fiume had 24,212 Italian, 6,493 Hungarian, 2,315 German, and 15,687 Serbo-Croat inhabitants. These statistics were prepared by the Fiume Municipal Council, a body which was composed of



Hungarians and Italians, and was controlled by the Hungarian authorities.

Thus, after fifty years, the Hungarians were still trying to establish their hegemony in the town. By the actual number of their own inhabitants they were incapable of reaching their object, nor have they succeeded up to the present by means of emigrations or concessions to other races.

The suburbs of Fiume are Slavic. Sushak, the most important of them, is populated by 11,706 Slavs as against 658 Italians. The more outlying districts, including the Island of Veglia, are inhabited by Slavs only. The Hungarians and Italians form a wedge in the town proper.

Before the world war, all the powers Italy included, were in agreement about according Serbia access to the Adriatic. Now, after the termination of the war, this access to the sea has become more necessary than ever to the United Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, who number 12,000,000 and occupy a territory of 10,000 square miles. Not one Dalmatian or Croatian port—neither Split (Spalato) nor Chibenik (Sebenico) nor Dubrovnik (Ragusa) nor Kotore (Cattaro) nor Bari (Antivari)—possesses the same geographical advantage as Fiume. Above all, the port is linked to the various Yugoslav countries by railway. It also connects with the tributaries of the Danube and the Sava.

Fiume in the hands of Italy, which has already on the Adriatic the harbors of Ancona, Venice, Bari, and Brindisi, might, at a given moment, produce an intolerable effect on the economic independence of the Triune Yugoslav Kingdom.

The Allies are making every effort as well as every combination imaginable to assure to inland States free access to the sea. Would it, in any circumstances, be just to take from the United Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes their natural outlet on the Adriatic?

#### ITALIAN CLAIMS

*An official résumé of Italy's claims in the form in which they were presented to the Paris Peace Conference by the Italian delegates, headed by Premier Orlando and Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, was published on April 25. It is a summary of the memorandum read to the Peace Conference by Signor Barzilai, which contained more than 5,000 words, and the résumé herewith presented, as prepared by officials of an Entente Government, was intended to give in fewer*

*words the Italian case as presented by the Italians themselves.*

After some prefatory remarks, the memorandum says that Italy went to war with two aims—the liberation of her oppressed sons and the attainment of safe frontiers by land and sea. Victory has cost her much more than she expected, and she is, therefore, all the less likely to repudiate the principles which determined her intervention. The concrete application of these principles might be summed up as the Alpine frontier, which includes the Upper Adige, the Trentino, and Julian Venetia, and an improvement of her Adriatic position which, without prejudicing the legitimate aspirations of the new State, will allow Italy to escape from the position of absolute inferiority and danger in which she finds herself.

The Treaty of London gives to Italy 6,326 square kilometers of the total area of Dalmatia, which is 12,085 square kilometers, and 44 per cent. of the population of Dalmatia, while of the whole coast from Fiume to the Boyana Italy will have only one-sixth. That is to say, the Yugoslav State will have six times as much of the coast as Italy, and will have more than half of the population and half of the total area of Dalmatia and its islands.

#### FIUME

The memorandum then turns to the special question of Fiume. Russia's defection imposed on Italy a much greater burden than that stipulated in the Treaty of London. American intervention did nothing to relieve the pressure on Italy, whereas on the western front it more than compensated for Russian defection. Not only Trieste but Fiume must cease to function in favor of indirect German domination of the Adriatic. Leaving on one side the damage to Trieste which would result from the competition of Yugoslav Fiume or of a Fiume not under Italian sovereignty and to the economy of the hinterland, resulting upon the inevitable attempt to deflect all of its trade to a non-Italian Fiume, it is necessary to insist on the anti-German part which Italy alone can play at Fiume, a part which can be played in such a way as to



benefit the Croatian and Hungarian hinterland.

At this point the memorandum insists on the natural aptitudes and the technical resources of a seafaring nation like Italy, which, by placing both Fiume and Trieste at the entire disposal of the hinterland, would conciliate in the best possible fashion her own interests with those of the commercial clientele of the two ports. After detailing the concessions which Italy is ready to make in order to guarantee the trade interests of the hinterland at Fiume and Trieste, the memorandum emphasizes the fact that these two ports have got to serve Germany, Austria, Bohemia, the Yugoslav countries, and Hungary, and that they will only be able to accomplish this difficult mission if intrusted to the one power which is outside and above the political and economic competitions of all these States.

#### CROATIA DOES NOT NEED FIUME

It is not true that Croatia needs Fiume. Croatia's trade in the port represented only 7 per cent., the remainder coming from other regions, and especial-

ly Hungary. The total trade of Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina in the Port of Fiume hardly reached 13 per cent.; the remainder went toward the ports of Lower Dalmatia. The carrying trade of the port, now that it is no longer undertaken by companies subsidized by Hungary, could not be carried on by a new State which sent such a small part of its trade into Fiume. Here, again, Italy is the one power capable of undertaking this mission—at first probably at a loss. Moreover, Trieste and Fiume will be able to work together, supplementing each other's services and rendering them more economical. Trieste could carry on without Fiume, but Fiume would be ruined if deprived of Italy's support. Freights from Fiume would be much lower if Fiume and Trieste worked together. The economic interests of the hinterland are, then, obvious.

Italy, the document concludes, has the right to expect that her moderate demands, which correspond to her rights and to her needs, and which are to such a great extent supported by the will of the interested populations, should be fully satisfied.

## Austrian Peace Delegation

### Arrival of Chancellor Karl Renner and His Colleagues at St. Germain

IT was announced on May 7, when the Peace Treaty was handed to the German Delegation at Versailles, that the conference had formally invited German Austria to send delegates to Paris to sign the terms of peace laid down by the allied and associated Governments. On May 9 the Council of Four gave special consideration to the impending negotiations between the Allies and Austria, while the Council of Foreign Ministers discussed reports presented on the boundaries of former Austro-Hungarian territories. The question of reparations was also discussed, and financial experts were called in to work out a solution of the whole financial problem. On the same date the Drafting Committee began work on the Peace Treaty with Austria as a whole.

It was decided by the Council that the Italians should play a far more prominent rôle in the presentation of terms to the Austrians than in the case of the Germans. An Italian Colonel, ranking with Colonel Henry, the French liaison officer who received von Brockdorff-Rantzau, had been delegated for the military mission, and the Italian plenipotentiaries were to have seats at the head of the table for the ceremony of the presentation of conditions.

The arrangements for the reception of the Austrian peace delegates and for their accommodation in St. Germain, the suburban residence of the early French Kings, and for the presentation of the terms of peace, were completed by May 13. It developed that the Austrians were to be subject to fewer restrictions than



their German allies. The museum of the Château of St. Germain, which had been selected for the ceremony, was fully prepared. The room in which the ceremony was to take place was much smaller than that at Versailles, where the Germans received the allied peace terms, and the conference tables, which were arranged in exactly the same form of hollow rectangles, filled it to the limit. Notwithstanding the overcrowded condition of the room, space for the press representatives had been reserved.

The Austrian peace delegation arrived at St. Germain-en-Laye, as the Paris suburb is officially called, on May 14, at about 6 o'clock. The delegation was met by M. Chaleil, Prefect of the Department of Seine-et-Oise, and by representatives of the allied and associated powers.

The first meeting with the Austrian delegates presented a sharp contrast to the first meeting with the Germans because of its greater ease and friendliness. The Austrian delegation was headed by Karl Renner, the Chancellor. He was the first to leave the special car. He appeared in the doorway with his hat in his hand and with a smile that put the reception committee quickly at its ease.

The Chancellor was a plump, round-faced man with a black beard and bald head. His eyes shone brightly behind a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles. He bowed courteously to the reception committee.

The head of the delegation was followed by Dr. Franz Klein, Peter Eichhoff, and Dr. Richard Schuller. After them came the other members of the party, which numbered about sixty. Among them was Baron Rudolf von Slatin Pasha, a former high official in the Egyptian Government, who resigned his post because of Great Britain's declaration of war on Austria, and who had joined the delegation en route as a representative of the Austrian Red Cross.

M. Chaleil, advancing and bowing, addressed the Chancellor, saying that he was delegated to meet the Austrian representatives and treat them with friendly courtesy. He added that he would turn them over to Major Bourgeois, who would establish relations between them and the Entente Powers.

The delegates then proceeded in automobiles under military escort to the villas set aside for them, overlooking the valley of the Seine and Paris and lacking the high fences and sentries so much in evidence at Versailles.

The Hungarian Government had failed to respond to the invitation to send peace delegates to France. Professor Philip C. Brown, an attaché of the American Embassy in Vienna, arrived from Hungary on May 15, bringing unsatisfactory reports of the situation in Budapest. The Bela Kun Government had made no attempt to answer in any way the invitation of the allied powers to send delegates of peace to Paris.

## CURRENT HISTORY IN BRIEF

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1919]

### LENGTH OF FRONT HELD BY OUR ARMY

**FIGURES** compiled by the General Staff of the army show that the American Army in France was holding 21 per cent. of the battle front on Nov. 11, 1918, the day of the armistice. On that date the front measured 642 kilometers. Fifty-five per cent. of this front, or 354.75 kilometers, was held by French forces; 21 per cent., or 134.25 kilometers,

was held by the American forces; 18 per cent., or 113 kilometers, was held by the British forces, and 6 per cent., or 40 kilometers, was held by the Belgian Army.

On Jan. 31, 1918, the front measured 754 kilometers. Then came the Hindenburg drive of March, which increased the length of the western front until July 20, 1918, when it measured 856 kilometers. This was the maximum length



of the front, and it was just then that the effects of the great allied joint drive began to show. By September the front had been shortened to 722 kilometers, and by Nov. 11 to 642 kilometers.

The British held 25 per cent. of the front on Jan. 1, or 187 kilometers, and held this length of front until March 21, when the Hindenburg drive opened. The British front, according to the figures, was at no time more than 180 kilometers after March 21. The French held 69 per cent. of the front on Jan. 1 and only 55 per cent. on Nov. 11. The maximum percentage of the front held by the French was on May 30, when they held 632.5 kilometers, or 75 per cent. of the front.

The American Army held 1 per cent. of the front on Jan. 31, 1918; 3 per per cent. on Feb. 28, 4 per cent. on March 21, 6 per cent. on April 10, 7 per cent. on May 10, 4 per cent. on May 20, 12 per cent. on June 10, 14 per cent. on July 30, 17 per cent. on Aug. 10, 20 per cent. on Aug. 30, 22 per cent. on Sept. 10, 23 per cent. on Oct. 10, and fell back to 21 per cent. on Nov. 11.

According to the official announcement, the kilometers of the front held by the armies of each of the allied nations on the main western front in 1918 were as follows on the dates named:

	Belg'n.	Fr'ch.	Brit'h.	U. S.	Total.
Jan. 31.....	37	520.0	187	10.0	754
Feb. 28.....	37	504.0	187	26.0	754
Mar. 21.....	37	502.0	187	28.0	754
Mar. 30.....	37	568.0	148	31.0	784
Apr. 10.....	37	558.5	148	50.5	794
Apr. 20.....	37	580.5	133	51.5	802
Apr. 30.....	37	580.5	133	51.5	802
May 10.....	37	576.5	133	55.5	802
May 20.....	37	548.5	133	33.5	802
May 30.....	37	652.5	133	27.5	840
June 10.....	37	623.0	133	58.0	854
June 20.....	37	579.0	133	105.0	854
June 30.....	37	591.5	133	92.5	854
July 10.....	37	569.0	148	100.0	854
July 20.....	37	582.0	148	89.0	856
July 30.....	37	511.5	148	109.5	806
Aug. 10.....	37	446.5	150	126.5	760
Aug. 20.....	37	443.5	150	137.5	768
Aug. 30.....	37	422.5	140	145.0	744
Sept. 10.....	37	388.0	140	177.0	722
Sept. 20.....	37	485.2	133	128.8	684
Sept. 30.....	46	414.8	136	132.2	726
Oct. 10.....	24	392.7	133	162.3	712
Oct. 20.....	42	349.5	145	127.5	664
Oct. 30.....	24	398.9	110	127.1	660
Nov. 11.....	40	354.75	113	134.25	642

#### NEW YORK-WASHINGTON AIR MAIL SERVICE

THE first year of the air mail service between New York and Washington ended May 15, 1919. The air-line distance between New York and Washington covered by the mail fliers is 218 miles. Here are some of the remarkable records of flying made by air mail pilots in the last year:

Dana C. Hart flew 191 legs of the New York-Washington route, covering a distance of 21,360 miles. Of these flights 179, covering a distance of 20,324 miles, were made without forced landings. In his entire year's service he had but seven forced landings and five uncompleted flights.

Robert F. Shank made 138 flights, covering 14,334 miles. Of these, 129 flights, covering 13,700 miles, were made without forced landings. In his year's service he had but three forced landings and five uncompleted flights.

E. V. Gardner flew 102 legs, covering 11,422 miles. Of these, ninety-seven flights, covering 10,858 miles, were made without a forced landing. He had a total of three forced landings and two uncompleted flights.

Max Muller flew eighty-two legs, covering 9,242 miles, without a single forced landing or an uncompleted flight in his record.

Figures show that the Government made \$19,103 out of the air mail service between New York and Washington during its first year of operation. Here are the figures:

Revenue from airplane postage.....\$159,700  
Saving in railway transportation..... 2,264

Total revenue and saving.....\$161,964  
Cost of operation..... 142,861

Surplus ..... \$19,103

The cost of operation alone was \$137,900 and the loss of standard plane No. 3, less salvage of useful parts, was \$4,961, making the total cost of operation \$142,861.

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#### LAUNCHING OF THE TENNESSEE

THE superdreadnought Tennessee, the largest battleship in the United States Navy, was launched May 1 at the Brooklyn Navy Yard in the presence of a throng estimated to number 50,000. When launched the vessel was 60 per cent. completed. The Tennessee is a sister ship of the California, now being



built at the navy yard, Mare Island, Cal., and to be launched in the Fall. The Tennessee is 624 feet long, 97 feet 5 3/4 inches in width, and has a draught of 30 feet 6 inches. She displaces 32,600 tons and has a speed of 21 knots. She has eight water tube boilers and a fuel capacity of 1,900 tons. Her armament will consist of twelve 14-inch guns, fourteen 5-inch guns, four 6-pounders, four anti-aircraft guns, and two torpedo tubes. She will be manned by a crew of 58 officers and 1,024 men. She will burn oil exclusively and will be equipped with electric drive.

\* \* \*

#### NATION-WIDE BOMB CONSPIRACY

A NATION-WIDE bomb conspiracy, which the police authorities say had every earmark of I. W. W.-Bolshevist origin, directed against the lives of some of the most prominent men in this country, including Postmaster General A. S. Burleson, Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, Justice O. W. Holmes of the Supreme Court, Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis of Chicago, Mayor John F. Hylan, John D. Rockefeller, J. P. Morgan, Mayor Ole Hanson of Seattle, and more than a score of other persons of prominence in the official or business life of the country, was discovered at the end of April as a result of the receipt of bombs by Mayor Hanson and ex-United States Senator Thomas W. Hardwick of Georgia. A servant in the family of ex-Senator Hardwick was seriously injured by the explosion of the bomb when the parcel containing it was opened by her. Thirty-nine of the bombs were traced in the mail within a few hours after the discovery, but no clue to the perpetrators was discovered.

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#### COLLEGE MEN ON HONOR ROLL

A COMPILATION from official reports discloses the fact that 4,920 officers and men who were students and graduates from American colleges and universities died during the war of wounds, disease and other causes; 1,643 died of wounds. It is estimated that 150,000 men were enrolled from colleges and universities, and that the total

deaths will reach 6,000. Among the universities of Canada, out of 5,400 who enlisted from the University of Toronto 604 died; of 11,176 Oxford men, 1,412 lost their lives; of 13,128 Cambridge men, 1,607 were killed or missing. Of the Scotch University of St. Andrews, 811 enrolled and 117 lost their lives; of 3,363 Glasgow University men, 1,125 were killed or missing. Other universities suffered similar losses. It was found that 259 professors of literature, science, medicine, and law of Paris or provincial universities gave up their lives and the total number of teachers and professors in various schools and colleges of France who made the supreme sacrifice for their country is estimated at 6,000; 635 names are on the roll of honor of the University of Paris.

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#### THE BOY SCOUTS OF AMERICA

THE Boy Scouts of America performed important services during the war which are summarized by the Secretary of the organization as follows:

In the four Liberty Loans they sold 1,967,047 subscriptions, amounting to \$276,744,650; War Saving Stamps sold to April 10, \$50,000,000 in 2,176,625 sales; standing walnut located, 20,758,660 board feet, (5,200 carloads;) fruit pits collected for gas masks, over 100 carloads; war gardens and war farms conducted by scouts throughout the country, 12,000; distributed over 50,000,000 pieces of Government literature; rendered invaluable services for the Red Cross, the United War Work Committee, and other national organizations serving the Government; furnished confidential service for Third Naval District; co-operated in A. L. A. drive for better books; served well in food and fuel conservation; performed countless individual acts of service to the Government not recorded under any special classification; presented a united front of patriotic zeal in every community, which in itself was of incalculable value to the nation. Nearly 100,000 Scouts earned the Treasury Department Medal in the Liberty Loan drives. Almost half that number qualified for bars in addition; 16,026 achievement buttons have been awarded for W. S. S. sales,



3,221 ace medals, 18,886 bronze palms, 1,726 silver palms, 212 gold palms.

The membership in May, 1919, was 476,257, of which 378,069 are scouts, 14,939 scout masters, 17,236 assistants, 50,808 troop committeemen, 15,156 local council members.

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#### GERMAN PIERS AT HOBOKEN ACQUIRED BY THE UNITED STATES

THE United States Government in May acquired by purchase the three piers of the Hamburg-American Line, thus leaving this German company no landing place in the port of New York. The price paid was announced to be \$2,500,000. Acquisition of this property by the United States Government leaves the great German lines only three piers along the Hoboken waterfront and in New York, making it certain that it will be many years before the German interests, even with favorable circumstances granted them by the Allies, would be able to resume their traffic with this port in the great dimensions of the days before the war. The three remaining piers are those numbered 1, 2, and 3 in the Army Debarkation Station at Hoboken, and formerly were the property of the North German Lloyd Line. It was stated by officers of the Government in Hoboken that negotiations would soon be completed for the acquisition of those piers by this Government also.

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#### FRANCE LISTS 213 RUINS

A LIST of the historical monuments and buildings completely destroyed or greatly damaged in the German invasion of Northern France has been prepared by Louis Marin, general budget reporter, for presentation to the Chamber of Deputies, which will decide the amount of money necessary for the work of restoration. The list is a long one, and includes 213 monuments and buildings of historical interest more or less seriously damaged.

M. Marin reports that the buildings and monuments destroyed beyond hope of restoration include the great castle of Coucy, the House of the Musicians at Rheims, the City Hall at Noyon, the Ca-

thedral and belfry at Arras, and the famous castle of Ham.

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#### RUSSIA AND FINLAND

THE Russian Commission in Paris, of which Prince Lvoff is Chairman, protested on May 10 to the Entente Powers against the unconditional recognition of Finland's independence, on the ground that Russia's consent must be obtained before Finland can be legally separated from the Russian Empire. The protest stated that the Commission held that the action of the various powers in recognizing Finland would affect Russia's attitude toward Finland, and should not prevent Russia from having her interests in that country safeguarded.

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#### FRENCH AIR CASUALTIES

THE casualties in the French air service in the war zone during the war were 6,328, it was officially announced in May. The casualties were divided as follows: Killed, 1,945; wounded, 2,922; missing, 1,461. Of the missing, it is stated, 700 must be considered to have lost their lives. Outside the war zone the casualties totaled 1,227, bringing the aggregate for the whole service to 7,555.

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#### BELGIUM REFUSES TO PROSECUTE THE EX-KAISER

THE Belgian delegation to the Peace Conference announced on April 21 that the Belgian Government would decline to prosecute the former German Kaiser if requested to do so. Any such action, the Belgian delegation holds, should be taken by a commission representing all the associated powers. The official Belgian point of view is that the Kaiser cannot be arraigned for declaring war, violating Belgian neutrality, or for any act preceding or coincident with the declaration of war. It is pointed out that there is no tribunal competent to hear such charges against the Kaiser, and no provision in international law covering such cases, and any such action taken now would be retroactive.

Belgium holds that persons guilty of acts punishable by the criminal codes of any of the belligerents should be tried



in the ordinary way, as the fact that crimes such as theft, rape, and murder were committed during a state of war does not relieve the authors of responsibility for them. If such a commission as is suggested should desire to arraign von Manteuffel for the sack of Louvain, von Schroeder for the murder of Captain Fryatt, or von Sauberzweig for the execution of Nurse Cavell all the necessary documents will be forthcoming, but it is emphasized that Belgium does not seek revenge, but only justice.

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#### WALLOONS OF PRUSSIA ASK TO BE DISANNEXED

**T**HE Walloons of Prussia sent a dispatch to M. Clemenceau, Chairman of the Peace Conference, April 25, requesting that their annexation to Prussia be canceled. The message to M. Clemenceau follows:

The Walloons of Prussia, feeling great anxiety on account of the news lately published in the press, earnestly request you to decide for the pure and simple disannexation of all the Walloon districts in Prussia.

The inhabitants of cantons not Walloon, but indispensable to Belgium, might be consulted by means of a referendum, as will be the case with the population of the Sarre Basin.

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#### NURSE CAVELL BURIED IN ENGLAND

**E**DITH CAVELL, the English nurse who was executed by the Germans Oct. 12, 1915, was paid a notable tribute on May 15, 1919, when her body, en route from Brussels to her native City of Norwich, was taken to Westminster Abbey for an impressive memorial service. The streets of London through which the cortège moved were congested with crowds, and every inch of standing room in the neighborhood of the Abbey was occupied by a densely massed multitude which was eager to do reverent homage to "that brave woman," as the Bishop of London described her, "who deserves a great deal from the British Empire."

The congregation at the Abbey included high officials of the Government, representatives of foreign countries, and men prominent in many walks of life. King George was represented by the

Earl of Athlone, brother of Queen Mary. The service was conducted by the Dean of Westminster. No address was delivered. The opening sentences of the burial service were sung by the choir, which then sang the Twenty-third Psalm and a short lesson from the Revolution of St. John. Then came Sullivan's anthem, "Yea, Though I Walk Through the Valley of the Shadow of Death," and "I Heard a Voice from Heaven."

The Litany, the Lord's Prayer, and two Collects were repeated, followed by the hymn "Abide With Me." The Benediction was then pronounced and the Last Post and Reveille were sounded.

The service, which began at noon, lasted half an hour. The procession left the Abbey to the strains of Chopin's Funeral March and proceeded to the station, where the coffin of plain oak was placed on a train for Norwich.

On the coffin was the simple inscription:

EDITH CAVELL,  
Born Dec. 4, 1865,  
Died Oct. 12, 1915.

At Norwich it was placed on a gun carriage and was taken to Norwich Cathedral. The service, which was officially designated "For the funeral of Edith Cavell, a nurse who gave her life for her countrymen," followed. As the coffin was taken into the Cathedral the hymn "Now the Laborer's Task Is O'er" was sung. It was followed by the reading of the lesson, First Peter, ii., 19, by Canon Dechair. Then came the anthem, "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth," and Chopin's Funeral March. While the hymn, "Brief Life Is Here Our Portion," was being sung the procession formed for the march to the graveside. There the latter portion of the burial service was conducted by the Bishop, and the hymn "Abide with Me," which Miss Cavell repeated shortly before her execution by the Germans, was sung. The Benediction was then pronounced and the bugle sounded the Last Post.

The body had been exhumed at Brussels on March 17 and placed in a double coffin of zinc and oak and conveyed to the Tir National. It was found clothed in a black dress under a blue cloak, and



there was a black hat beside it. The body was well preserved and the features were perfectly recognizable.

It is understood that the examination following the exhumation revealed that the nurse's death was instantaneous. She was struck by four bullets, two of which entered the right side and two the left, one of them piercing the heart.

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#### GERMAN WHO SANK THE SUSSEX A PRISONER IN THE TOWER

**CAPTAIN KAISERVETTER**, who was in command of the U-boat which torpedoed the English Channel steamer *Sussex* on March 24, 1916, was brought from Spain, where he had been interned, and confined in the Tower of London on May 9, 1919. The attack on the *Sussex* without warning gave rise to a series of notes between Washington and Berlin which are interesting for two particulars on the latter side; first the denial of the act until it was conclusively proved, and second a promise to refrain from similar acts in the future until this was repudiated on Jan. 31, 1917, by Germany's note announcing her intention of ruthless use of the submarine. The *Sussex* carried 380 passengers, including twenty-five Americans. Eighty passengers, including no Americans, were killed or drowned. The shattered vessel was towed into Boulogne.

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#### BRITISH PENSIONERS EXCEED 600,000

**SIR L. WORTHINGTON-EVANS**, Minister of Pensions in the British Cabinet, at a meeting in London of the National Health Conference of Insurance Organizations and Social Workers, gave a summary of the work England had done in the training of disabled soldiers. He said that up to May 10, 1919, more than 12,000 temporary or permanent pensions had been granted to disabled officers and nearly 600,000 to disabled men. At the time of the armistice there were 550,000 men in hospitals at home and abroad, and today this number has been reduced to about 200,000. He estimated that there would be at least 700,000 temporary pensioners, an unknown number of whom would become entitled to permanent pensions.

#### THE BRITISH BUDGET

**THE** British Budget for 1919-20, which was submitted May 1, 1919, provides for a total expenditure of \$7,174,550,000; the estimated revenue is \$6,005,500,000, leaving \$1,169,050,000 deficit to be covered by bonds, against an expenditure of \$12,396,505,000 in 1918-19, and a deficit of \$8,451,400,000. The estimates provide for a preferential duty of one-sixth reduction on goods from the Colonies and Dominions on tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, dried fruits, tobacco, gasoline, and a reduction of one-third on films, clocks and watches, motor cars and cycles, musical instruments. Duties on spirits are increased from \$7.50 to \$12.50 a gallon; beer duty is raised from \$12.50 to \$17.50 per barrel; income taxes are unchanged; excess profits duty is reduced from 80 to 40 per cent.; motor gasoline license duty is abolished; benzol is exempted; the duties on retail goods (luxury taxes) are repealed. Pensions for wounds and disability, also gratuities to army and navy, are relieved of income tax liability. The national debt on March 31, 1919, was \$36,175,000,000, compared to \$3,225,000,000 at the outbreak of the war. The national assets included \$8,695,000,000 due from the Allies and Dominions; Russia alone owed \$2,840,000,000. From April 1, 1918, to Nov. 10, the daily expenditures were \$37,215,000, and since November have averaged \$33,380,000 a day.

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#### SITUATION IN IRELAND

**THE** discontent in Ireland was aggravated in May by demonstrations over the visit of three American delegates who had been sent to the Peace Conference by American Irish societies with the purpose of laying before the British Premier Ireland's claims for independence. The delegates—Frank P. Walsh, Edward F. Dunne, and Michael F. Ryan—were received by President Wilson, and it was announced that they would be received by Mr. Lloyd George. Their tour of Ireland, however, caused demonstrations of hostility to the Government, and the speeches of the delegates intensified the feeling. An unpleasant impression resulted throughout



England, and the British Premier announced on May 12 that he would not receive the delegation. There were disturbances in various Irish cities throughout the month, and rigid disciplinary measures were taken.

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#### NEW ZEALAND DEFEATS PROHIBITION

THE votes of 15,000 New Zealand soldiers in France, Egypt, and at sea defeated prohibition in that country. The vote without these stood 265 for prohibition; in New Zealand there were 238,116 votes for and 225,921 against; soldiers in England voted 3,950 for, 15,880 against. The total majority against was approximately 10,000. It was proposed to compensate license holders in a sum limited to \$22,500,000. In Canada the Province of Quebec in April defeated prohibition by a majority exceeding 100,000.

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#### SENATOR HUMBERT ACQUITTED

SENATOR CHARLES HUMBERT, on trial by court-martial on a charge of having had dealings with the enemy, was acquitted May 8 at Paris. Captain Georges Ladoux, former Chief of the Intelligence Bureau of the Ministry of War, a co-defendant with Humbert, was acquitted. Pierre Lenoir, still another of the co-defendants, was sentenced to death; the sentence was appealed. Guillaume Desouches was convicted and sentenced to five years in prison.

With the settling by the Paris court-martial of the cases of Senator Humbert and his three co-defendants, there only remains the trial of former Premier Caillaux before a Senatorial high court to conclude the whole of the famous Bonnet Rouge defeatist conspiracy, which threatened to destroy the military efficiency of France in 1915-17 and force a separate peace with Germany.

The acknowledged popular mandate of M. Clemenceau in assuming the Presidency of the Council on Nov. 16, 1917, was that he should remorselessly prosecute the "defeatists," no matter what their rank or position. Of these, already fifteen had been sent to prison and two executed, (Bolo Pacha, April 17, 1918, and Duval, July 17, 1918,) when the

trial of Senator Humbert began, on March 31, in the large hall of the Paris Assize Court. With him were arraigned Pierre Lenoir, Guillaume Desouches, and Captain Ladoux. Humbert was charged with "trading" with the enemy, Lenoir and Desouches with "intelligence" with the enemy, and Ladoux with conscious complicity in both offenses. Nearly 300 witnesses were heard.

The capital charge was made against Humbert in order that he might be forced to reveal his knowledge of the guilt of Lenoir and Desouches. Even the prosecution did not believe in his conscious guilt. As to Ladoux, who had been head of the Intelligence Department when M. Malvy, the chief henchman of Caillaux, had been Minister of the Interior under the dominance of the defeatist propaganda, his testimony at the Bolo, Duval, and Malvy trials had plainly shown him to be a tool rather than a principal; so his acquittal was regarded as a foregone conclusion.

The charges against Humbert, Lenoir, and Desouches grew out of the purchase of *Le Journal* with enemy money for the purpose of conducting a defeatist propaganda. Humbert was Vice President of the Army Commission, Director of *Le Journal*, and a vigorous writer both before and during the war on preparedness. He was arrested Feb. 19, 1918, five days after the conviction of Bolo Pacha.

It had long been his ambition to control the paper personally. It was alleged that on two occasions he had received large sums from the Germans; once, \$1,875,000 through Lenoir and Desouches, and once, \$1,150,000 through Bolo Pacha.

At the Bolo Pacha trial he asserted that he did not know the source of the last sum; it only remained for him to confirm this and to prove his innocence in regard to the first. His defense was to establish his belief in the legitimate origin of the \$1,875,000, which was done.

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#### A MINISTER OF JEWISH AFFAIRS

M. KRASNY PINHOOS was appointed to a Cabinet portfolio in the Ukraine Government in April to be known as Minister of Jewish Affairs,



being the first man in history to hold such an office. He stated that the Jews would take part in the political and social life of the Ukraine under conditions of equality with those of the rest of the population, but in affairs appertaining to the Jewish community they would govern themselves. The range of this inner government would extend over education, special taxes for certain needs exclusively Jewish, and emigration.

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#### TWENTY-FOUR EX-SOVEREIGNS

THE armistice, which brought the overthrow of so many German monarchs, made all the long established institutions of Central Europe uncertain. The German editor of the "Almanach de Gotha" for 1919 says in his preface that twenty-two republics have replaced the kingdoms, grand duchies, duchies, principalities, and free cities of the old empire; but in the chapter treating of these new States the word "republic" is never used, and their Governments are prudently qualified as "provisional." The same uncertainty is visible in the matter of abdications. It is made evident that all the sovereigns of Germany and Austria have renounced their thrones, but the date of this renunciation in several cases is left blank, while two dates, Nov. 8 and 28, are given for the Kaiser.

All these abdications were initiated by the Prince of Wied, who mounted the throne of Albania on March 13, 1914, and abdicated the following September. But the record for short reigns was established by the young Duke of Anhalt, whose reign began on Sept. 13, 1918, and ended on Nov. 12 of the same year.

Among the ex-monarchs figure two emperors, those of Germany and Austria; six kings, those of Prussia, Hungary, Württemberg, Bavaria, Saxony, and King Constantine of Greece; two Czars, those of Russia and Bulgaria; six princes, those of Albania, Lippe, Reuss, Schaumburg-Lippe, Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt, Waldeck et Pymont; five grand-dukes, Baden, Hessa, Mecklenburg-Schwerin, Oldenburg, Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach; and five ordinary dukes, the dukes of Anhalt, of Saxe-Meiningen, Hildburghausen, Saxe-Altenburg, and

Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Twenty-four sovereigns dethroned, written in on the balance sheet of the war!

Only two monarchs survived the storm, those of Turkey and Bulgaria, and this owing to the recent date of their ascent to the throne; the first was crowned in July, 1918, the second in October of the same year.

In this new edition of the well-known German reference work of crowned heads and pedigrees the former Kaiser is given all his titles: "Doctor of Laws of the Universities of Berlin, Pennsylvania, and Oxford; Doctor of Medicine of the University of Prague; Doctor of Sciences of the University of Clausenburg; Doctor of Engineering of the Upper Polytechnic Institutes of Germany; Field Marshal General of Prussia, Bavaria, and Austria; Grand Admiral of the Austrian Navy; Field Marshal General of the Turkish Army; General and Flag Admiral of Sweden; Honorary Danish Admiral; Honorary Captain General of the Spanish Army; Honorary Admiral of the Greek Navy," &c.

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#### BELGIAN INDEMNITY

THE Belgian delegates at one time almost threatened to withdraw from the Peace Conference. The main dissatisfaction was over the question of ultimate indemnity. By the terms agreed on Belgium was to receive \$500,000,000 as a part of the \$5,000,000,000 which Germany must pay by the end of next year as part of the total reparation. The Belgian delegates refused to accept this arrangement without consulting their Government, and it was said that the Government had decided on taking extremely strong measures. On May 5, however, Premier Delacroix issued a statement that said in part:

The negotiations had arrived at a deadlock, but the powers granted us very great concessions, releasing us from loans contracted during the war amounting to 6,000,000,000 francs, while we shall have priority in receiving 2,500,000,000 francs, payable in gold and destined to cover interprovincial bonds we were obliged to issue during the war. We shall have no financial charges resulting from the war, while we shall have a billion francs coming to us on various accounts.



# AMONG THE NATIONS

## Survey of Important Events and Developments in Both Hemispheres

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

### AFGHANISTAN

**A**FTER the murder of Siraj-ul-Milat-Wad-din, the Emir of Afghanistan, on Feb. 20, the Afghan Mission left for Moscow to establish relations between the Soviet Government and Afghanistan. On May 8 the India Office, London, was informed that Afghan tribesmen, aided by Afghan regular troops, had occupied threatening positions on the northwest frontier of India, where General A. A. Barrett was in command, and that Barrett had addressed a vigorous note to the new Emir, while his aircraft had made a not altogether peaceful demonstration over the Afghan positions on the near side of the frontier.

It had been supposed that the anti-British demonstrations in Afghanistan which followed the murder of the Emir had been caused by his brother, Nasrullah Khan, who the next day had himself proclaimed Emir at Jellalabad. Nasrullah, who was at the head of the priestly caste, worked to have his country join the war on the side of Turkey, and was only kept in check by his brother.

The latest news from Kabul, via Simla, dated April 30, proved, however, that the heir apparent, the eldest son of the late Emir, had come into his own and had put his uncle in jail. Little is known of the new Emir, except that he is a well-educated man of 30, who made a spectacular visit to Lord Curzon, then Viceroy of India, at Calcutta, in 1904. His name is Amanullah Khan, or Inayatullah Khan.

But the new Emir not only put his uncle in jail, but in the last fortnight of April convened a public durbar at Kabul, which found Nasrullah guilty of instigating the murder of the late Emir and sentenced him to imprisonment for life. A Colonel convicted of actually

committing the crime was executed, and a Court page convicted of complicity was sentenced to life imprisonment. The durbar also administered justice in another direction: The powerful Musahiban family, including the late Commander in Chief, who were ignominiously arrested by the Jellalabad soldiery when the latter withdrew their allegiance from Nasrullah, were honorably acquitted.

The details of the murder of the Emir Habibullah Khan are given in the Calcutta newspaper, *The Englishman*. It appears that his Majesty had proceeded twenty-seven miles beyond Khalat-ul-Seraj, near Jellalabad, and from Feb. 17 to 20 was camping at a little place known as Kollagosh. He slept in a large tent well guarded by soldiers drawn from a number of regiments, and within were just his Majesty in one section, while in the other were four or five page boys, who took it in turn to watch. At about 3 in the morning a pistol shot was heard, and on the Emir's brother and eldest son rushing into the tent they found Habibullah Khan lying dead in his bed, shot through the ear, the bullet having passed out of the side of his head.

A body of Afghan tribesmen invaded India in the vicinity of Khyber Pass, but were driven out by British troops and suffered some loss in men and material.

### ALBANIA

Albania, the Botany Bay of ancient Rome, which the Concert of Powers, on Dec. 20, 1912, caused to be governed by a German Prince, Prince William of Wied, from March 7, 1914, until the war and Essad Pasha's revolutionists drove him home, has been showering the Paris Conference with petitions.

Five months before Italy entered the war her marines occupied Valona, (Avlona,) which later became her base for military operations against the



Austrians, who, in the Winter of 1915-16, over-ran the country. Italy also, as long as the reign of King Constantine lasted, kept the Greeks, who were in possession of Southern Albania, in order. Italy moreover proclaimed the independence of Albania under her protection. Her first favorite as Provisional President was Essad Pasha, but owing to his unpopularity he was never formally recognized. She then favored Prenk Bib Doda, the Chief of the Roman Catholic Clan of Mirdites, of Northern Albania. This gave great offense to all factions of the Moslem clans, and on March 25 Prenk, who had become Vice President of the new Provisional Government established at Durazzo, was murdered between that city and Medua, it was alleged by adherents of Essad Pasha.

The murder was followed by a revolt against the Italian army of occupation, which by April 29 had assumed formidable proportions with a force of 4,000 rebels in the field, all armed followers of Essad Pasha, who is also opposed to the Albanian delegates at Paris.

One petition to arrive at the Paris Peace Conference came from these rebels, who are principally Moslems of the south. Another came from the Mirdites of the north; while still another came from the Albanians abroad, demanding absolute independence and the calling of a national assembly to determine the form of government. A petition also was received, dispatched from Koritza, asking for the union of the southern part of Albania with Greece. This was the outcome of a celebration there on April 29, when it was announced that the Dodecanesus Islands in the Aegean Sea, which had been held in pawn by Italy since the Turco-Italian war of 1911-12, had proclaimed their union with Greece.

Since then fifty-two petitions from the south have expressed a contrary wish—not only from Koritza itself, which is in the old Turkish vilayet of Monastir, divided between Serbia and Greece after the second Balkan war of 1913, but from Colonia, Premeti, Argyrocastro, Delvino, and Tchameria, stating:

We, the Orthodox Albanians of [the above districts] protest with indignation

against the pretensions of the [Greek] Prime Minister Venizelos that the Christian Albanians of North and South Epirus wish for union with Greece. All the Christian Albanians desire an independent Albanian State, and our delegates to the Peace Conference are the official delegates of the Provisional Albanian Government at Durazzo.

A separate petition unanimously passed by the Holy Council of the Orthodox Albanian Church in America is even more strongly worded. It is signed by the clergy, the Albanian Bishop, and a large number of laymen and reads:

We, Christian Orthodox Albanians, faithful followers of the Church of Christ, appeal through your Excellency [President Wilson] to the Peace Conference for the restoration of Albanian independence and for unification of all Albanians, Orthodox, Moslem, and Catholic, under one flag, the illustrious banner of George Castriola Scanderbeg, and one National Government.

## BELGIUM

By May 13 Belgium had demobilized 115,000 men of her army, leaving 210,000 men still under arms. The reduction to 100,000 men depends upon the rehabilitation of the country's industries.

Belgium is the first of the Allies to attempt to raise money on German indemnities as security. On May 6 the Government decided to ask the Allies or the United States for an immediate loan of \$500,000,000 on such security. It has been pointed out that it would not suffice for the country to receive a priority indemnity of half a billion which would not be forthcoming for a couple of years. In the first week in May there were 750,000 idle persons in Belgium, to whom the Government was paying \$10,000,000 a month.

Whatever the Government considered to be the prospects of the loan, Premier Delacroix said in a Cabinet meeting, on May 11:

A drastic retrenchment is made necessary on account of the peace terms. Aside from the \$500,000,000 granted Belgium as a priority payment, she will receive nothing at present, and as the country is without resources of its own and foreign loans are obtainable only on onerous terms it will be necessary to cut expenses all around immediately.

The thirtieth annual conference of the



Belgian Labor Party was held at Brussels in the last three weeks of April. It was first voted not to participate in the coming Internationale at Lucerne. Vanderfelde and Anseele, however, turned the tide in favor of representation. The former said:

Belgium, although absent at Berne, must retain her place in the Internationale. You do not care to meet the Germans. That is understood. But you must meet and fight Bolshevism, which is the negation of Socialism. Lenin has excommunicated the Belgian Socialists as traitors. It is not Germans alone that you will meet at Lucerne, but thirty Socialist parties. It is your duty to go there and say what the Socialists of Belgium have suffered.

Anseele said no Internationale was possible unless, as formerly, it sat at Brussels under the Presidency of Vanderfelde. The conference then passed a resolution that Brussels should remain the seat of the Bureau of the Internationale.

## BULGARIA

Although reports came from Berlin during the last days of April and the first days of May telling of impending revolutions in Bulgaria and of a revolt against the Coburg dynasty, while from Moscow came news of a rising of the workers in favor of a Soviet Government, advices direct from Sofia contained no tidings of this character. The country suffered less than any other directly engaged in the war; indeed, the war was a profitable undertaking for Bulgaria; its period of neutrality as the clearing house between Germany and Austria-Hungary and Turkey caused great wealth to flow in, and it surrendered before the people began to feel the economic sacrifices which the war demanded from other nations.

A propaganda was conducted by such papers as the *Echo of Bulgaria*, the *Mir*, *Narod*, &c., to show its innocence in the second Balkan war of 1913, and how Serbia and Greece had deprived it of its just fruits of the preceding war against Turkey. The Government followed with a propaganda concerning the future by asserting its claims to Macedonia and to Dobrudja, the former of which was

divided between Serbia and Greece in 1913, and the latter ceded to Rumania in the same year and, in the Autumn of 1916, confirmed by the Entente.

While the principal claim to Macedonia has been advanced on the ground of the self-determination of the present population, that to Dobrudja is sustained by other means based chiefly on the alleged cruelty of Rumania during its three years' occupation of the province, whose population, it is admitted, is chiefly Moslem in religion, although Bulgar from an ethnic point of view. The Royal Court Printing Office at Sofia has recently issued in English a couple of brochures, the first by Milan G. Marcoff, entitled "The Political Fate of Dobrudja After the Berlin Congress," entirely historical, and the second dealing with the present claims of Bulgaria to the province, entitled "Memoir from the Central National Council of Dobrudja to the Representatives of the States Called Together to Restore the Peace Among Nations." This last contains a number of resolutions by Dobrudjan political, industrial, and social bodies adopted during the Bulgar period of occupation, from the Winter of 1916 until the capitulation of Bulgaria, while its general tone may be judged from the following passages:

The Rumanian rule was to us a symbol of lawlessness, arbitrariness, and oppression. In future it will be the source of new wrongs and a cause for new commotions and conflicts within the Balkans—conflicts which most assuredly will transform our native land into a theatre of new desolations, ravages, and miseries. \* \* \*

We, the people of Dobrudja, without any distinction or nationality, insistently demand that we remain within the bounds of Bulgaria, because in the Bulgarian rule we see indisputable guarantees in regard to our civic and political rights of equality, as well as a possibility to determine the mode of government without any outside interference; under Bulgarian domination we believe that we will find all the necessary conditions for an undisturbed economic and educational growth.

Another publication issued under the same auspices at Sofia is *Le Mouvement Dobroujain*, an eight-page bi-monthly paper, printed in French. The material employed is both historical and bibliographical, political and ethnical. The



latest number to reach America, dated April 1, gives a circumstantial account of the elections of March 14, in which it is alleged the Rumanian Government employed coercive and restrictive methods so that it might present the result of the vote as a plebiscite to the Paris Conference demanding union with Rumania.

### CHINA

The Chinese Cabinet resigned May 16, but the President refused to accept the resignation. Representatives of Northern and Southern China in session for several months to endeavor to reach an agreement on the constitutionality of the Parliament at Peking, which was under control of the Northern Government, failed to reach a compromise, and the conference was ended on May 16.

A consortium or joint loan agreement for financing Chinese loans was effected at Paris, May 12, by American, French, British, and Japanese bankers. A reservation was made for later participation by Belgian bankers. Thomas W. Lamont of the United States (a member of J. P. Morgan & Co.) presided at the meeting. Others who attended were Sir Charles S. Addis of Great Britain, M. Simon of France, and Mr. Adagiri of Japan. The general agreement provided that, at the suggestion of the United States and with the sanction of the French, British, and Japanese Governments, the banking groups will combine their interests to make joint financial, administrative, and industrial loans to the Chinese Government.

### DENMARK

The Government of Denmark, in regard to territorial expansion, presents a curious contrast to other nations which are striving to extend their dominions. On May 12 the Danish Parliament adopted the following resolution by a large majority:

While the Danish Parliament expresses its satisfaction at the prospect that the coming peace will bring the fulfillment of the national hopes of the Danish people, it insists on its resolution of Oct. 23, 1918, and on the wishes expressed toward the allied and associated powers in Paris with regard to the voting

zone in Schleswig by the parliamentary declaration representing all parties and by the representatives of the Danish Electors' Association in Schleswig.

This somewhat enigmatical resolution is explained by the Danish press as follows: Provision has been made by the Peace Conference for righting the wrong done Denmark by Prussia nearly three-quarters of a century ago in seizing the territory of Schleswig-Holstein. The territory is to be divided into three separate zones, northern, middle, and southern, which at the end of successive periods shall declare their nationality by a plebiscite. It is pointed out that although the northern zone, which will vote first, is thoroughly Danish in language as well as in sentiment, the middle and southern zones have become thoroughly Germanized. Here the population would also vote to adhere to Denmark in order to escape German taxation, and Denmark would thereby have as a portion of her population a people not bound by ties of patriotism, but by expediency; this the Danish Government does not desire. What it does desire is that the southern boundary shall be extended to the Firth-Tondern-Flensburg line, so as to incorporate in the kingdom only about 1,000 square miles.

At the same time the Germanized Danes of the middle zone are making the most of their opportunity. During the first part of May various delegations and representatives from Flensburg and the country districts south visited Copenhagen in order to sound politicians and business circles concerning the conditions under eventual Danish rule.

### EGYPT

The political revolt of the Egyptian Nationalists had subsided by the third week in April only to be followed by a general strike, which brought about fresh disturbances and changes in the personnel of the Sultan's Government, notably the resignation of Hussein Rushdi Pasha, President of the Council, on April 23. The day before the American diplomatic agent had communicated to General Allenby President Wilson's recognition of the British protectorate, also



expressing hopes for the realization of the autonomous aspirations of the people. This document was praised by the Nationalist press.

The same method which had served General Allenby, partly drastic and partly persuasive, in putting down the political revolt also served him in putting down the strike. In a proclamation issued on April 22 he demanded that all Government employes who were absent without leave return to their duties or be punished and warned: "Every person who, by persuasion, threats, or violence, prevents, or seeks to prevent, any person from complying with this order will be liable to arrest and prosecution before a military court." Other passages of the proclamation read:

Whereas, the proclamation of Nov. 2, 1914, declared the institution of martial law in Egypt in order to supplement, not to supersede, the civil administration, and all civil officials in the service of the Egyptian Government were required to continue in the punctual discharge of their respective duties;

And, whereas, a number of the officials employed have deserted their posts, and it has been made clear that they have taken this action with the object of dictating a course of policy to the Government and the Sultan, and of repudiating the Protectorate which his Majesty's Government have established over Egypt;

Whereas, such officials and employes have for the most part refused to return to work when called on by the President of the Council of Ministers;

Whereas, also, any official or employe wilfully absents himself from his work in the above circumstances is committing an offense after the above proclamation, and any person promoting or leading this movement or preventing officials or employes by threats or violence from doing their work is liable to severe penalties under martial law;

And, whereas, the time has now come for the intervention of the military authorities in this matter to support the civil administration, by virtue of the powers conferred on me as General Officer Commanding in Chief His Majesty's forces in Egypt I order all Government officials and employes absent from duty without leave to return to their posts forthwith, and punctually and efficiently to perform the duties assigned to them.

The effect of this proclamation was salutary. The civil officials returned to their duties.

## FRANCE

M. Cels, the French Under Secretary for Public Works and Transports, announced on May 1 that he was preparing a bill which would provide for the utilization of water power in France by absorbing all private undertakings into one combination. The greater part of the power thus obtained would be allotted for the electrification of the main railway systems of the country. The electrification of the Midi had, by May 1, already been begun, the water power of the Pyrenees being brought into use. For the Paris-Lyons-Mediterranean railway the power will be found in the Alps. The bill has also in view the improvement of lighting, street car traction, and a system of pumping for feeding agricultural irrigation and local industries.

There was general cessation of all work in Paris on May 1 by labor organizations under socialistic direction. Enormous crowds assembled, but serious disorders were prevented by troops. As a protest against the firm action of the Government in suppressing disorderly demonstrations several Socialist Under Secretaries attached to the Peace Conference resigned. The Chamber of Deputies sustained the Government by an overwhelming majority.

On April 23 the Senate passed the Eight Hour bill. As it had already been passed by the Chamber it became a law.

It was announced in Paris on May 14 that during the month of April the sum of 681,225,900 francs was collected in France from taxes and State monopolies, this being an excess of 137,792,000 francs over the budget estimate and an increase of 278,600,200 francs over the corresponding month of 1918. This brings the excess over the budget estimate for the first four months of 1919 to 640,958,000 francs, and the increase over the first four months of 1918 to 741,164,600 francs.

## GREECE

On April 18 M. Coundouriotis, the Greek Minister accredited at Belgrade to the Prince Regent of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, (Yugoslavia,) informed the Government at Athens that he had concluded a treaty of



alliance with the new State of Jugoslavia, the terms of which would be published, in accordance with the new custom, as soon as they had been confirmed by the Parliaments interested.

In commenting upon this intelligence the Journal of the Hellenes refers to the old Graeco-Serbian treaty of 1913, which King Constantine repudiated in 1915, leaving Serbia open to the attack of the Bulgars, the Austrians, and the Germans, and adds:

This new alliance emphasizes in the most solemn manner that our glorious allies, the Serbs, realize, as does the rest of the world, that the transitory backsliding of Greece was the criminal work of a cynical camarilla of which the Hellenic people themselves were the first victims.

Having the same interests, the same enemies, and united by common sufferings and a common glory, Serbs and Hellenes will seal by this new treaty a sincere and lasting friendship, capable of meeting and overcoming all obstacles. Let us salute with enthusiasm and confidence the dawn of Graeco-Serbian co-operation, which is rising, and let us hope that the civilizing bond which henceforth binds Great Greece and young Jugoslavia in the Near East may never be severed.

Greece received the mandate from the Council of the Allied and Associated Powers to administer the City of Smyrna. On May 14 Greek forces landed there, followed on the 16th by a naval concentration of British, French, and Italian warships; the United States was represented by the battleship *Arizona* and four destroyers. Late in March the Athens press had published a communiqué from Premier Venizelos, dated Paris, to the effect that the Council of Ten had authorized him to dispatch troops to the Smyrna region to the number of 50,000.

Ever since the armistice two factions have been at work in Smyrna attempting to organize a plebiscite: one for union with Greece by Greek agents, the other for a British protectorate by the British Chamber of Commerce at Smyrna.

At Adalia, the Attaleia of classical geography, the Italians landed troops on March 26 in order to restore peace, for on March 6 about 200 civil prisoners, having killed their guards, escaped from

prison and attacked citizens, robbing and murdering them. On April 14 British marines were landed at a point opposite Rhodes, between the Greek and Italian zones. It was stated that the military and naval precautions were taken against the possibility of rioting by the Turks when the peace conditions were imposed on them.

## INDIA

The disorders which broke out in India in the second week in April—at Lahore, the capital of the Punjab; at Amritsar, the religious metropolis of the Sikhs; at Ahmedabad, one of the principal towns of the Province of Bombay, and in hundreds of villages—had been entirely quelled by the first of May, principally by the native police, whose loyalty saved the lives of hundreds of Europeans.

The demonstration was organized by M. K. Gandhi, but with no intention, he has stated, of its assuming the proportions of a rebellion, against the Rowlatt bills, dealing with conspiracy. Several members of the Viceroy's Council had already resigned as a protest against the bills.

The Times of India of April 18 says that no one connects Mr. Gandhi or the nominal leader of the passive resistance movement with the outrages, although their speeches prepared the field, and suggests that an external organization is working, through the Indian revolutionary party.

Before the arrival of the troops at the principal centres of disorder over one hundred natives, including policemen, had been killed and five Europeans, and thousands of dollars worth of Government property destroyed, principally at Ahmedabad. The railway damage, done to obstruct the movement of troops, amounted to \$500,000.

Justice, principally at Lahore, was meted out at once to the leaders. Fourteen have been sentenced to various terms, from transportation for life to a few weeks' imprisonment. Several villages have been fined because their authorities did not take sufficiently active measures to keep the peace.

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promoted a similar agitation among the Indians in South Africa.

The principal features of the two Government bills which were regarded as responsible for the uprisings are as follows: The first, entitled the Indian Criminal Law (Amendment) bill, is intended to be permanent in character, and makes various amendments in the law of sedition. The second clause, as published, provided that:

Whoever has in his possession any seditious document intending that the same shall be published or circulated shall, unless he proves that he had such document in his possession for a lawful purpose, be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both.

There are other stringent provisions restricting the activities of revolutionaries.

The second bill is entitled the Criminal Law (Emergency Powers) bill, and is divided into five parts. Under the first three parts punitive measures, preventive measures of a "mild character," and preventive measures of a "more stringent character" can each in turn be called into operation on the issue of a notification by the Governor General in Council, which is capable of application to a particular province or even smaller area. The entire bill confers emergency powers on the Government for the arrest, suppression, search, and punishment of offenses against the State.

The bills met with such a storm of protests that they were modified, restricting the scope to "anarchical and revolutionary crime." Mr. Gandhi led the opposition by forming at Bombay a Passive Resistance League, the members of which take a vow to refuse "civilly to obey the laws," but are pledged to abstain from violence to life or property. Another party, called the "Moderates," issued a manifesto March 18, 1919, in which they appealed to the public to dissociate themselves from the "passive resistance" movement, pointing out that the only means of defeating the obnoxious legislation was to pray the Crown to disallow it. A telegram to that effect was accordingly sent to the Secretary for India, Mr. Montagu, but no action was taken by the Government.

## ITALY

The crisis over the Adriatic settlement, which began early in the year by the withdrawal from the Cabinet of the Moderates Nitti and Bissolati, reached its climax on April 24, when President Wilson published his statement on the subject, and on April 29, when the Rome Parliament gave the Orlando Government a vote of confidence of 382 to 40, the latter being represented by the intransigent Socialist group under Signor Turati, which was uncompromisingly pledged to "self-determination."

Nitti's withdrawal had been followed by some slight signs of a compromise demonstration, in which he had labored to bring about a momentary union of the Socialists and the newly formed Catholic Popular Party. But this was soon smothered by demonstrations by the followers of Giolitti, the non-interventionist statesman, who was forced to retire to private life when Italy entered the war against his policy. These demonstrations, with the cry "Fiume or death," were intended to prevent the Italian delegates at the Peace Conference from making a compromise. On the surface they, together with the vote of Parliament, appeared to be a mandate from the Italian people to secure the maximum—the full terms of the Treaty of London and the incorporation of Fiume.

It was in these parlous times, the Vatican's restrictions against Catholics taking part in the political affairs of the kingdom having been removed, that the Catholic Popular Party came into being.

In view of the forthcoming general election it issued a manifesto to the people. After promising that national economy must be reorganized on new lines, the rights of labor guaranteed, the agrarian question solved, and the upper classes urged to do their duty, the manifesto enunciates the following planks in the party's program:

Proportional representation, reform of the Senate, which should become representative of the nation's organic corporations; administrative decentralization, and the constitution of the League of Nations on the lines of general disarmament, publicity of treaties, and compulsory arbitration.



The Catholic *Corriere d'Italia*, commenting on the manifesto, warned Premier Orlando that, whatever he may accomplish at Paris, he must immediately set about bringing to a conclusion the proposed reforms.

A report was communicated to Washington by John S. Armstrong, Jr., the American Consul at Venice, which shows what the industries of the Regione di Veneto suffered during the Austrian occupation. The report is based upon an investigation made by the Association Between Manufacturers and Merchants of Venetia. The total loss of 437 industries from which returns were available amounted to 287,988,663 lire, or \$57,597,732.60. The industries most severely affected were cotton, wool, and hemp mills, iron foundries, and fertilizer and chemical works. Thirty-two unclassified small industries lost through inactivity half a million lire and over three times as much in toto.

The report of the United States Trade Commissioner at Rome, H. C. MacLean, became available at Washington May 5. It is dated March 27, and gives considerable space to the development of the Banca Italiana di Sconto, which was established in 1915, after a merger of smaller banks, in order to rescue the country from the financial grasp of Germany.

What Mr. MacLean calls the greatest financial undertaking during the war was the increasing by the bank of the capital stock of Gio. Ansaldo & Co. from 100,000,000 lire to 500,000,000. This company manufactures many things, from ships to gasoline engines. Large sums were also lent to develop the hydroelectric works in Northern Italy, where there is believed to be a great future in the transference of water power to electrical energy. Mr. MacLean writes concerning the source of the bank's finances as follows:

As an indication of the indomitable energy of the Italian commercial interests and of their confidence in Italy's economic future, attention is called to the fact that between July, 1915, when Italy entered the war, and September, 1918, new capital invested in stock companies amounted to almost 4,000,000,000 lire. Furthermore, deposits in savings banks

and similar institutions increased from 7,595,000,000 lire in June, 1914, to 12,231,000,000 lire in June, 1918.

## KOREA

On April 20 Governor General Hasegawa, with headquarters at Söul, the capital of Korea, instituted a series of courts-martial for trial of officers and soldiers who are alleged to have exceeded their authority in putting down the recent revolt in the "Hermit Kingdom."

Viscount Kato, the leader of the Kenseikai party, has been agitating in Tokio for autonomy, or at least civil administration instead of military, for Korea. In a recent interview he said:

The act of union between Japan and Korea could not be set aside, but it would be wrong to think that the Japanese were satisfied with things as they were. Many leading men knew that reforms were necessary. The defects of Marshal Terauchi's administration had long been recognized, also the desirability of changing the military for a civil Governor. While the material prosperity of the Koreans, compared with a generation ago, was unquestioned, the spiritual and intellectual needs must be recognized. The agitation was partly the result of the changed position of missionary establishments, which under the old régime were havens of refuge and centres of great influence as against a corrupt bureaucracy.

On May 15 the Privy Council of Japan met at Tokio under the Presidency of the Emperor and decided upon a revision of the organic system of the Korean Government. The revision calls for the substitution of civil for military rule, and a large measure of self-government, just as soon as the Koreans abandoned their agitation for complete independence, which was impossible as being indented with the military defense of the empire as well as with her paramount industrial and commercial interests.

## LUXEMBURG

The referendum, as it is called by the Government, or the plebiscite, as it is called by the Luxemburgers, which was to have decided the fate of the Grand Duchy on May 4, was postponed by an act of the Chamber on April 16. As for the reason of postponement the press is divided: Some believe that pressure was brought to bear upon M. Reuter, the



Prime Minister, from Paris; others believe that pressure was exerted from Brussels, where it was feared that French economic interests were on the point of carrying the day. Meanwhile, ballots for the vote had been placed in circulation, and the questions which Luxemburgers of both sexes over the age of twenty-one, with certain obvious exceptions, would be required to answer, were put thus:

A.—*Dynastic*—(1) Does Luxemburg wish to remain a monarchy (a) under the present dynasty and Grand Duchess; (b) under the present dynasty and another Grand Duchess; (c) under another dynasty? (2) Does Luxemburg wish to become a republic?

B.—*Economic*—(1) Does Luxemburg wish for an economic union with France? (2) Does Luxemburg wish for an economic union with Belgium?

Meanwhile, on April 28, after an imposing procession through the streets of the City of Luxemburg, 50,000 Luxemburgers signed a resolution appealing to the Paris Peace Conference for complete autonomy and a place in the League of Nations.

The somewhat complicated situation was explained to the Luxemburgers in the United States by M. Emile Prum, who had been selected by them to present to the Peace Conference a petition urging the importance of an economic alliance between Luxemburg and Belgium. M. Prum was a member of the Chamber for twenty-one years; during the German occupation he was condemned by the Germans to three years' imprisonment for criticising their methods.

Luxemburg, he said, after a union of four centuries with Belgium, was separated from it by force in 1839. In 1917 a commission appointed by the Government reported in favor of an economic union with Belgium. It was then supposed that Belgium would continue under the economic guidance of Germany. When the French troops arrived after the armistice a great wave of enthusiasm for France swept the Grand Duchy, which was nurtured by certain industrial magnates who wished to combine the iron industry of South Luxemburg with those of Briey and Lorraine and form a great

iron and steel trust which would control the markets of Europe, if not of the world. These magnates owned the great foundries which had turned out German armaments during the war, had suppressed strikes at their plants with the help of German machine guns, and had impressed labor from Belgium. Under their influence the commission of 1917 has reversed its decision and now advocates union with France. Their anti-Belgian propaganda is everywhere to be met with at the meetings of all political parties. M. Prum concludes:

Thus the ideas of the people have been thoroughly upset without their knowing why. It is obviously in the interest of the country that it should not be given overt and bound into the hands of whichever of the two States is not shut out by the referendum. In view of the troubled state of public opinion, it would be a good thing if the Entente Powers would suggest to the Government of Luxemburg that it should act energetically and take the matter into its own hands by entering into negotiations with the Belgian Government with a view to an economic union. Such a step would be in the interest of the country and would put a stop to a movement started by a powerful financial organization, the chief aim of which is to fish in troubled waters.

## MESOPOTAMIA

Oscar S. Heizer, the American Consul at Bagdad, reported as follows concerning the economic condition of Mesopotamia since hostilities ceased there last October:

The British military authorities have established model dairy farms at Basorah, Amara, Kut, Bagdad, Ramadi, Hillah, and Nasiriyah. These are managed by experts, and the milk is treated under hygienic conditions. Each farm has been equipped with an up-to-date dairy plant and machinery, and the whole dairy produce, consisting of milk, cream, and butter, is turned over to the military hospitals. Large numbers of cattle have been imported from India, and efforts are being put forth to improve and increase the herds in Mesopotamia. The Department of Agriculture, which henceforth will control the dairy farms, has been very active in different directions. Various demonstration farms—poultry farms, wheat and cotton farms—have been established. New canals, irrigation channels, dams, reservoirs, and the reconstruction of similar works which have long fallen into disuse, have been undertaken.



## MONTENEGRO

The propaganda which has been carried on at Paris and elsewhere in favor of King Nicholas of Montenegro by Yovo Popovitch and John Plamenatz and other irreconcilables, (see Page 501,) charging Serbian coercion in the disposition of Montenegro, was answered in the Yugoslav organ of Paris, *The Will of the People*, by Yanko Spassoyévitch, deputy of the Great Montenegrin National Assembly, as follows:

As a Deputy of the Great Montenegrin National Assembly I consider it my duty to proclaim as entirely false all the declarations of the Government of the ex-King Nicholas, made in its communiqués of Feb. 19 and 27, 1919.

The Great National Assembly elected by general suffrage voted on Nov. 13 last in accordance with the historic traditions of the Montenegrins, the union of Montenegro with Serbia and with our brother Croats and Slovenes, and deposed King Nicholas, who had rendered himself guilty of treason toward Serbia and the Allies. This decision was the result of full liberty of action and was due to no pressure exercised by Serbia. Moreover, such pressure would have been impossible, for, at that time, there were only three companies of Yugoslav troops in the country and no Serbian. It is equally false that the Serbian authorities or soldiers have ill-treated the people or committed atrocities.

The truth is entirely contrary: It is that the armed bands organized by the ex-King of Montenegro, at the head of which was the well-known criminal, Jean Plamenatz, attempted on Dec. 24, 1918, to bring about a rising in the country and to take possession of Cetinje. On being dispersed by the people the rebels succeeded in escaping to Italy, but not before they had killed twelve citizens, for the most part young students who had defended the city. \* \* \*

The people of Montenegro have one desire: It is to live in peace with their brother Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. This is their unanimous wish. It should be treated with respect.

## RUMANIA

Rumania in April took measures against the divisions of Bolshevist Magyars which had been seizing strategic positions for an advance through Transylvania with the advertised intention, according to Bela Kun, of releasing the Magyars there "from the Rumanian yoke." The military operations of the

Rumanians began on April 18, from the 200-mile line extending from the River Maros north and slightly east to the foot hills of the Carpathians. By April 26 they had advanced fifty miles and held the line emphasized by positions at Kis-Jeno, Mate-Szalka, Nagy-Szalonta, and Debreczen, and were 120 miles southeast of Budapest. A few days later their right flank had established communication with the army of the Czechoslovaks.

On May 8 negotiations for an armistice were entered into between the Soviet Government at Budapest and the Rumanian Commander in Chief. The latter's demand—disarmament of the enemy forces, surrender of war material and of prisoners and hostages—was rejected at Budapest. These terms being modified by the Interallied Mission at Bucharest, on May 10, a truce was established, while British monitors continued to command Budapest from the Danube.

On May 2 the Russian Soviet Government sent out from Moscow an ultimatum to Rumania demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia, which had been occupied by Rumanian troops after the German soldiers of Marshal Mackensen departed on the signing of the armistice. The right wing of the Rumanian Army here has linked up with the left of the French troops which evacuated Odessa on April 5.

## SPAIN

The new Spanish Cabinet formed by Señor Maura in May was as follows:

SEÑOR MAURA, Prime Minister.  
SEÑOR GONZALES HONTORIA, Foreign Affairs.  
SEÑOR LA CIERVA, Finance.  
SEÑOR GOIECOECHEA, Interior.  
SEÑOR GALLARDO OSSORIO, Public Works.  
VISCOUNT MATAMALA, Justice.  
SEÑOR SILIO, Instruction.  
GENERAL MIRANDO, Marine.

The Liberal Cabinet of Count Romanones, Maura's predecessor, had confessed its inability to tranquilize the labor agitation in Barcelona, and had professed its inability to fulfill the constitutional requirements to get the budget voted before July. Maura at once received assur-



ances of support from Liberal and Conservative leaders, but the General Confederation of Labor would have none of Señor La Cierva, the new Minister of Finance, and the protests against him, emanating particularly from Barcelona, showed that the new Government was not in a better position to transact business with Parliament than its predecessor had been.

The May Day demonstrations brought matters to a crisis, and on May 2 King Alfonso signed a decree dissolving Parliament and appointing the general elections to take place on June 1. In Spain, owing to the fact that the electoral machinery is in the hands of the Minister of the Interior, a Government which submits to a general election is rarely defeated.

The unrest in Spain was treated at length in a letter written April 19, 1919, by the Spanish Ambassador to Great Britain, A. Merry Del Val. It is a document of historic value and reads as follows:

When people are told that the forces of the Left are arrayed against those of the Right in Spain, this does not mean, as is implied, that the Liberal Parties are fighting the Conservatives, but that the Revolutionaries are assailing the whole monarchical and social régime. Thus, from the very list published in London, it is clear that the new Spanish Ministry is a Coalition Government, in which Count Romanones is represented by Señor Gonzales Hontoria, and Señor Garcia Prieto, the other great Liberal leader, by Viscount Matamala, while Señor La Cierva is an independent Conservative who has been in office before now with Liberal colleagues.

On the other hand, when the word "workers" is used with regard to Spain, the Socialists and anarchists are generally referred to. There is no Labor Party in Spain. The existing Parliamentary representation is exclusively political, and its small Socialistic section has done nothing for the working man's welfare. Its aims are purely subversive of every existing institution. Social reform has invariably been carried out in Spain by the various monarchical parties and their Governments, who in confiding the preparation of legislative measures for the working classes' benefit to a permanent institution for social reforms have given a fine proof of impartiality by including men of every opinion in that

body, which was for many years presided over by one of the respectable leaders of the Republicans, until the moment of his death.

In view of recent statements, it is just as well to recall the true history of the unhappy events of 1909. An insidious press campaign having prepared the way by rendering unpopular certain military operations in Morocco, the anarchists, in more or less open collusion with other revolutionary elements, took advantage of the dangerous depletion of the Barcelona garrison through the rushing of drafts to Africa to cut the railways and every sort of communication with that town. The isolation of Barcelona accomplished, they began the execution of the first part of their plan, revealed by documents afterward seized, by attacking the religious establishments in different parts of Barcelona, several of which were burned to the ground. The Church of Las Mercedes, a historical jewel of inestimable antiquarian value, was destroyed, the inmates of the neighboring convent shamefully maltreated, the bodies of dead nuns exhumed and placed in vile mockery on the barricades. The mob next proceeded to attack the banks and private houses according to plan, but were held in check for three days by the garrison, then numbering only 1,200 men. A few hours afterward reinforcements entered the town and condign punishment was meted out to the guilty, every requisite of the law being, however, observed in the process. The leader of the movement was a notorious anarchist, Francisco Ferrer, a man after the heart of Lenin and Trotzky, in whose possession a complete plan of the revolution was discovered. Ferrer, an individual of no great intellectual capacity or learning, who had amassed money by swindling certain devout Frenchwomen of his acquaintance, was the founder and head of the so-called Modern School at Barcelona, where children were not only taught the doctrine of world revolution but the recipe for making bombs. He was the moral author of the dastardly attempt against the life of the King and Queen of Spain on their wedding day.

The present strike of telegraph officials is the outcome of the dislike of these public servants for a Minister who last Autumn was successful in putting down a movement of the same kind, by which the telegraphists attempted to blackmail the Coalition Government of the day under the Liberal leader, Garcia Prieto, into accepting their exaggerated demands after their most reasonable conditions had been acceded to. Their present attitude will recoil upon themselves by making them most unpopular all over Spain, whereas the wireless system, in the hands



of the military, incapacitates them from paralyzing official communication.

A. MERRY DEL VAL,  
Spanish Ambassador.

London, April 19, 1919.

### TURKEY

The Ottoman delegation for the Peace Conference departed from Constantinople on April 28. It remained incognito at Berne until officially called to Paris. It is headed by Damad Ferid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, whose departure gave rise to the story that he had resigned, and includes Mustafa Reshid Pasha, ex-Minister for Foreign Affairs; Izzet Fuad Pasha, Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs; Reshad Halim Bey, the recently appointed Ottoman Minister at Berne; Ghalib Kemali Bey, ex-Minister at Athens and Moscow and President of the Capitulation Commission; Reshid Bey, Director of Political Affairs and personal representative of the Sultan, and Colonel Edib Bey as Military Plenipotentiary.

Up to May 3,300 prisoners had been arrested in Constantinople or brought there on the evidence furnished by the Interallied Mission. The charges against them range from treason to murder and the instigation of massacres. The execution of Kiamil Mahmud Pasha, charged

with massacres of Armenians at Yozghad, where he was Governor, has already been announced in these columns as having taken place on April 12, in Bayazed Square, Stamboul.

By May 3, Fethi Bey, ex-Minister of the Interior, and nineteen others had been released with the suspended verdict of "not yet proven." The case of the ex-Grand Vizier, Said Halim Pasha, was then taken up for examination. It is said that he has made statements of the highest political importance, revealing that Germany began as early as July 10, 1914, five days after the famous Potsdam conclave, to win Turkey to the side of the Central Empires, and that a treaty was signed on Aug. 1 by himself, Baron von Wangenheim for Germany, and Count Pallavicini for Austria-Hungary.

In this treaty the participation of Great Britain in the war was ignored and Turkey was guaranteed against attack by any two powers. A second treaty was signed by the same parties on Aug. 10, taking the hostility of Great Britain into account. In the middle of November a third treaty was signed to which Austria-Hungary was not a party. It dealt with the disposition of British interests in the Near East.

## Progress in American Demobilization

### More Than a Million Soldiers Home Again From France—Getting Industries Back to a Peace Basis

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 20, 1919]

**W**HILE public attention was intently fixed upon the proceedings of the Peace Conference at Paris, there was no diminution of American effort to turn into the channels of trade and commerce the energies that had been so largely devoted to war. Demobilization proceeded at an accelerated rate, the last of the public loans necessary to settle the war account was largely oversubscribed, and

decisions were reached on matters of national importance.

General March, Chief of Staff of the Army, announced May 10 that, according to estimates made by the General Staff after communication with General Pershing, there would be left in France on Aug. 1 only 225,924 American troops, including marines and the navy personnel abroad. In denying that the War Department had any idea of reaching a



maximum of 450,000 a month in the returning of troops, General March asserted that "if we reached a ship capacity of 450,000 a month we would not have troops to fill it."

General March also announced that the 2,000,000 mark in the demobilization of troops had been reached during the week and that the millionth man was embarked from abroad on May 7. So far, he explained, seventeen complete divisions had been brought back from France, and the demobilization movement had now been standardized.

According to the latest data in his possession, General March said the number of enlisted men ordered demobilized since Nov. 11 was 2,127,000, and the total discharges had been 2,006,834, of whom 106,389 were officers and 1,900,445 enlisted men. The number of overseas troops so far returned to the United States was 859,219, of whom 39,498 were officers. He added:

It took over a year to demobilize the small force in the Spanish-American war, so that this performance, which represents the six months since the signing of the armistice, is really a twentieth century performance.

We passed the million mark of men embarked from France for the United States on May 7, and that million includes all personnel embarked; that is, army officers and men, navy officers and men, marines, officers and men; army nurses, and civilian personnel attached to the army. It is the entire personnel of our forces in Europe, now returning to the United States, which has crossed the million mark.

During the month the 300,000 mark was passed in troops embarked from France, and this personnel is the same as I have already given. This is well in advance of our former predictions. The figures of embarkation are 303,188 during April. The total number of troops landed during April was 275,297. The rest of those embarked are now on the high seas.

#### AMERICAN CASUALTIES

Figures prepared by the War Department as of May 10 gave the total of battle deaths in the American Expeditionary Forces under General Pershing as 48,909. The total of wounded was given as 237,135, but it was explained that there was a duplication of probably 7,000 in this classification. The total of

casualties from battle deaths and wounds was 286,044.

Other figures as of March 1, 1919, put the number taken prisoners at 322 officers and 4,112 enlisted men, a total of 4,434. The figures in each instance were as given by divisions.

The table showing battle deaths and wounded follows:

Division.	Battle Deaths.	Wounded.	Total.
2.....	4,419	20,657	25,076
1.....	4,204	19,141	23,345
3.....	3,102	15,052	18,154
28.....	2,531	13,746	16,277
42.....	2,713	13,392	16,005
26.....	2,168	13,000	15,168
4.....	2,587	11,596	14,182
32.....	2,898	10,986	13,884
77.....	1,990	9,966	11,956
27.....	1,791	9,427	11,218
30.....	1,652	9,429	11,081
5.....	1,908	7,975	9,883
33.....	1,002	8,251	9,253
89.....	1,419	7,394	8,813
82.....	1,338	6,890	8,228
78.....	1,359	6,800	8,159
90.....	1,387	6,623	8,010
35.....	960	6,894	7,854
79.....	1,396	6,194	7,590
80.....	1,141	5,622	6,763
91.....	1,390	5,106	6,496
29.....	940	5,219	6,159
37.....	992	4,931	5,923
36.....	592	2,119	2,710
93.....	574	2,009	2,583
7.....	302	1,516	1,818
92.....	185	1,495	1,680
81.....	250	801	1,051
6.....	97	479	576
88.....	27	63	90
Total.....	47,313	232,673	279,986
Other units.....	1,596	4,462	6,058
Grand total.....	48,909	237,135	286,044

Reconstruction of the National Guard was started April 23, when the War Department, through the Bureau of Militia Affairs, authorized the organization of seven regiments and one extra battalion of infantry, one squadron of cavalry, and eighteen companies of coast artillery.

#### ARMY SUPPLIES SOLD

Under an agreement reached before the goods were shipped, France took over in May all railway rolling stock sent to that country by the United States for military purposes. France also is purchasing at cost, plus transportation



charges, all railway rolling stock now being delivered to the War Department under outstanding contracts.

The War Department expended approximately \$200,000,000 on railroad equipment sent to France, which was short of rolling stock, and the original agreement stipulated that France might purchase all equipment left in the country after the withdrawal of the American Expeditionary Force.

The American Government constructed 937 miles of standard gauge and 460 miles of fabricated narrow gauge track. Most of this construction was in yards and terminals. In fact, less than six miles of double main track was built by Americans.

#### 18,000 CARS SENT TO FRANCE

The United States Government shipped to France 1,346 standard gauge locomotives at an approximate cost of \$56,000,000, and 406 narrow gauge locomotives at an approximate cost of \$3,000,000. Cars shipped amounted to 18,303 standard gauge freight cars at a cost of approximately \$49,000,000, and 5,691 narrow gauge cars at an approximate cost of \$4,500,000.

In England, American engineers had constructed nineteen hospital trains of 304 cars. This equipment was obtained at a cost about \$22,000 per train less than it could have been constructed for in America and shipped to France.

Other construction in France cost America hundreds of millions of dollars, and must stay over there. This includes modern dock and steamship terminal facilities, miles of warehouses, training camps, rest camps, hospitals, an ordnance plant costing \$25,000,000, and facilities for housing all manner of activities connected with a huge army organized on modern lines.

In addition the American Government spent many millions in Great Britain on both its army and navy, and arrangements were made in advance with Britain, too, to take over permanently some of this construction work.

The War Department announced on May 10 that contracts outstanding Nov. 9, 1918, to the value of \$5,500,000,000

had been reduced by terminations and deliveries to a little over \$500,000,000. Cancellations and suspensions reported for the two weeks ended April 12 amounted to about \$70,000,000, and deliveries to about \$50,000,000. The status of cancellations as of April 12, 1919, follows:

	Contracts Outstanding Nov. 9, 1918.	Remain- ing Out- standing.
Ordnance Dept. ....	\$3,600,000,000	\$279,200,000
Bureau of Aircraft Production .....	672,849,000	14,810,000
Motors and vehicles	441,691,000	20,626,000
Military railroads...	291,320,000	21,444,000
Clothing equip., &c.	368,492,000	88,843,000
Machinery and eng. materials .....	108,234,000	26,370,000
Medical and hospital supplies .....	57,114,000	9,831,000
Signal Corps sup....	82,187,000	51,776,000
Total April 12....	\$5,622,387,000	\$512,900,000

#### RETENTION OF ARSENALS

The approved arsenal plan of the War Department, Acting Secretary Crowell announced April 28, contemplates the maintenance of thirteen manufacturing and finishing arsenals with the possible addition of the Springfield, Mass., small arms plant and a Detroit plant, should Congress authorize the necessary expenditures for these two.

The arsenals definitely decided upon for the permanent program include the plants at Edgewood, Md.; Rock Island, Ill.; Watervliet, N. Y.; Watertown, Mass.; Old Hickory, Tenn.; Amato, N. J.; Tullytown, N. J.; Frankford, Penn.; Rochester, N. Y.; Erie, Penn.; Chicago, (shell machining plant,) and Madison, Wis.

The War Department stated on May 8 that fifteen flying fields and five balloon schools were to be held by the Air Service for permanent training. Rockwell Field, San Diego, Cal.; Langley Field, Hampton, Va.; Post Field, Fort Sill, Okla., and Kelly Field, No. 1, San Antonio, Texas, which are now owned by the Government, will be retained. The following flying fields, now under lease, will be purchased:

March Field, Riverside, Cal.; Mather Field, Sacramento, Cal.; Carlstrom Field and Dorr Field, Arcadia, Fla.; Ellington Field, Houston, Texas; Park Field, Mil-



lington, Tenn.; Souther Field, Americus, Ga.; Selfridge Field, Mount Clemens, Mich.; Scott Field, Belleville, Ill.; Chanute Field, Rantoul, Ill., and Kelly Field, No. 2, San Antonio, Texas.

The balloon schools to be retained by the Government are at Lee Hall, Va.; Fort Crook, Neb.; Arcadia, Cal.; San Antonio, Texas, and Fort Omaha, Neb.

#### ARMY COURTS-MARTIAL

The ex-Army Judge Advocate's Committee on Military Justice, of which Major George C. Beach is the Chairman and Major Roscoe Stewart is Secretary, issued the following statement April 12:

The announcement of the War Department on April 8, that the Clemency Board, appointed to review the court-martial records of soldiers undergoing confinement in military prisons, has recommended clemency in a vast majority of cases considered by it, is proof that the present court-martial system is in need of radical revision and reform.

The figures given out by the War Department are that the Clemency Board to date has considered 1,683 cases; that it has recommended clemency in 1,521 cases, that it has recommended the reduction of the average sentence from seven years and four months to one year and nine months, or a total of 9,339 years from the aggregate sentences imposed.

In other words, the Clemency Board is of the opinion that in the cases so far considered by it the present system of military justice has practiced injustice in over 90 per cent. of the cases and that the sentences imposed by it are over 400 per cent. higher than they should have been.

Major Gen. Leonard Wood, testifying on April 16 before the committee of the American Bar Association investigating court-martial procedure in the army, advocated a law putting authority in the hands of the President to fix maximum punishment for offenders found guilty in court-martial trials, in peace times as well as in war. This was also urged by Major Gen. Hugh L. Scott, who followed General Wood as a witness.

General Wood thought courts-martial were in many cases too severe. He felt that much of the dissatisfaction over such trials would be removed if more thorough investigation were made by officers of the court, to whom charges were made, before bringing them to trial. This investigation, he said, would

unquestionably reduce the number of cases brought for trial and would save time now thrown away. Means of conducting such investigations, he said, are provided under the existing law, but the practice is not thoroughly carried out.

#### MARINES AT CHATEAU-THIERRY

Of the 8,000 officers and men composing the Marine Brigade when it and other units of the 2d Division were thrown into the fighting near Château-Thierry June 5, 1918, to stop the German thrust at Paris, 126 officers and 5,073 men were killed or wounded before the brigade was relieved at the end of the month. While in this action the marines took Lucy-le-Bocage, cleaned up Belleau Wood, and finally captured the important town of Bouresches.

In disclosing these casualties April 22 Major Gen. Barnett, commandant of the Marine Corps, said published statements from army officers that the marines were not in the fighting at Château-Thierry were misleading. The marines, he said, were not actually in the town itself, but fought in the action known officially as the battle of Château-Thierry. General Barnett cited official communications, both from General Pershing and the War Department. He pointed out that a number of marines received the Distinguished Service Cross from General Pershing for heroism "at Château-Thierry."

#### NAVY APPOINTMENTS

It was stated on April 18 that Admiral Henry T. Mayo, who at the time of the German fleet surrender was in command of the American dreadnought squadron of the Atlantic fleet, had been designated by Secretary Daniels as Commander in Chief of the "United States Fleet." This order does not affect the present disposition of the nation's naval forces. Admiral Mayo would be in supreme command only in the event that the three separate fleets—the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Asiatic—were brought together.

Admiral Caperton continued as commander of the Pacific fleet until April 30, when he undertook the special mis-



sion of preparing a record of his diplomatic work in South America during the war. Most of the ships which formerly composed his force are now in the army transport service, but a few vessels remain on the west coast under Rear Admiral Fullam, whose flagship is the old cruiser Minneapolis.

The Navy Department on April 12 announced that 32 per cent. of the enlisted men of the Naval Reserve Force and the entire enlisted personnel of the regular navy were to be assigned to sea duty at once.

#### VICTORY LOAN A SUCCESS

The fifth and last of the great public loans of the United States during the war period, like all its predecessors, was oversubscribed. The loan was for \$4,500,000,000, and consisted of short time notes maturing in four years, but with a privilege of redemption in three. The rate of interest was 4½ per cent. The loan lagged at the start, and pessimistic predictions were not wanting that the people, now that the war was over, would not respond. In the last few days of the campaign, however, there was a great influx of investors, and the loan went "over the top."

Approximately 15,000,000 persons bought Victory Liberty notes in the campaign, according to estimates received by the Treasury Department from the Federal Reserve Banks. This total compares with approximately 21,000,000 purchasers in the fourth loan, 17,000,000 in the third loan, 9,400,000 in the second loan, and 4,000,000 in the first loan.

Treasury officials expressed great satisfaction over this wide distribution in view of the changed industrial conditions and the fact that this loan came at a time when the agricultural interests found it less convenient to invest money in Government bonds because of the greater demands for capital in crop production. The result was considered especially gratifying in view of the fact that this loan was conducted without the excitement of war to stimulate it. At the close of the campaign the total amount of the oversubscription was estimated to be sufficient to bring the aggregate to \$6,000,000,000.

#### RETURN OF CABLES

Postmaster General Burleson on April 29 issued an order for the return of the marine cables to their owners on May 2. In a statement he said he still firmly believed in Government ownership and operation of the telephone and telegraph systems, but as the incoming Congress apparently did not approve such a policy there was but one course for him to pursue—to return the wires to private ownership after safeguarding legislation had been enacted. The order returning the cables follows:

##### ORDER NO. 3,047.

The marine cable systems of the United States, and every part thereof, including all equipment and appurtenances thereto whatsoever, and all material and supplies, the possession, control, supervision, and operation of which was assumed by the President by his proclamation of the 2d day of November, 1918, to be exercised by and through the Postmaster General, Albert S. Burleson, are hereby returned to their respective owners, managers, Boards of Directors, or receivers, to take effect on midnight, May 2, 1919. Representatives of the Postmaster General now operating said properties will take immediate steps to carry this order into effect. By direction of the President:

A. S. BURLESON,  
Postmaster General.

#### PRICE-FIXING FAILURE

The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce came to an end May 9, as a result of the failure of the Railroad Administration and the steel interests to agree upon prices for rails at their conference in New York City, and it was announced that, so far as the Department of Commerce was concerned, the law of supply and demand would from then on be permitted to govern the problems of industrial reconstruction. In accepting the resignations of the members of the Industrial Board, however, Secretary Redfield asserted that he believed much had been accomplished to develop standards of public co-operation which would be of permanent value.

Mr. Redfield said that at least four other industries had been prepared to make concessions in behalf of the advancement of reconstruction, but that negotiations now were, of course, to be abandoned. These industries, he said,



were coal, cement, hard wood, and soft wood.

Walker D. Hines, Director General of Railroads, issued a statement May 6, in which he invited attention to the results of the Government operation of the railroads during the first three months of 1919 by asserting that the aggregate deficit incurred during those months, after deducting the rental due the railroad companies for that period, was \$192,000,000.

### ARMY OF OCCUPATION

It was announced on April 26 that Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett would succeed Major Gen. Joseph T. Dickman as commander of the American Army of Occupation. General Dickman was to become the head of a board to consider lessons to be learned from the war in so far as they concern tactics and organization.

General Liggett was commander of the first American army corps to be formed, and also commander of the First American Army. After General Pershing relinquished field command of it, General Liggett directed the First Army in the Meuse-Argonne drive. When American General Headquarters is disbanded, the Third Army will become the sole American command in Europe. General Liggett, who has been without a command since the dissolution of the First Army, is second in rank to General Pershing, and, having assumed command of the Third Army, will, of course, be the highest commanding General in the American Expeditionary Forces when General Pershing leaves for home. Lieut. Gen. Robert L. Bullard, who has been without a command since the dissolution of the Second Army, will be returned to the United States.

### SECRETARY BAKER'S MESSAGE

General Dickman commanded the Third Army on its march to the Rhine, and has held that command since. The Third Army was formed as the Army of Occupation, and is composed of some of the best troops of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Secretary of War Baker visited the zone of occupation during his stay abroad and issued the following message to the men of the American Third Army:

I am happy to have the opportunity to congratulate the men of the Third Army for the great record they have made as fighting men during the war, and also for the spirit with which they are performing the delicate duties of an army of occupation. All I have heard and all I have seen of the Third Army fills me, as it will fill the country at home, with pride and satisfaction.

The men of the army are anxious to know what conditions they will find at home when they return, and I am glad to be able to tell them that the processes of demobilization have been speeded up, so that within three or four days after an organization reaches its demobilization camp the records are completed and the men paid and discharged.

Industry and business in the country are becoming normal and discharged men are finding employment in civil life. The Department of Labor, various Chambers of Commerce and all branches of industry are co-operating, and the War Department has a system of its own which consults the desires of the men and aids them to find the sort of work they desire.

### REVIEW BY SECRETARY DANIELS

On April 18 Secretary of the Navy Daniels reviewed the 2d Division, including a brigade of marines, the troops passing before him in mass formation, 25,000 strong.

On the hilltop parade grounds near Vallendar, where the former German Emperor is said to have reviewed German divisions on their way to the front in 1914, Secretary Daniels presented several decorations and addressed the entire division, telling the soldiers of the appreciation felt by America for what the army had done for the cause of liberty, and the welcome which awaited them when they returned home.

Mr. Daniels was taken through the underground passages of the Ehrenbreitstein fortress, which were built partly by labor paid for by 20,000,000 francs of the sum which the Germans exacted from France, and saw the accommodations of American artillerymen, where but a few months ago thousands of German soldiers had been quartered.



# Japan's Claims in China Conceded

## Text of Secret Compacts With Entente Regarding Shantung, and of China's Formal Protest

THE conflict between Italy and Jugoslavia over Fiume and Dalmatia was closely paralleled in the Peace Conference by the conflict between China and Japan over the possession of the Chinese Province of Shantung. Just as Italy based her Adriatic claims primarily upon the Treaty of London of 1915, so Japan rested her claims upon a similar arrangement made through official correspondence which passed between Viscount Motono, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the British, French, and Russian Ambassadors at Tokio in February, 1917. Italy also agreed to the arrangement at about the same time.

When President Wilson and the Chinese delegates went to the Peace Conference they knew nothing about these secret compacts with four Entente powers concerning the future possession of Shantung. The secret was revealed at a session of the Council of Ten when the fate of the German islands in the Pacific was being discussed. President Wilson proposed that the mandatory system be applied to these islands; Mr. Lloyd George then admitted the existence of a prior arrangement, which Baron Makino, at his request, explained to the President. It appeared that certain compacts had been made, giving to Japan outright all the German islands north of the equator on condition that Australia should have all those to the south. President Wilson asked whether there were other secret compacts of a similar nature. This brought out the fact that the agreement with Japan included the British, French, and Italian promises to support Japan's claims to Shantung, in consideration of Japan's undertaking to allow China to enter the war.

It was at this juncture that the world became fully aware of the fact—mentioned in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*—that Japan had repeatedly re-

fused to permit China to take part in the European war; that she had barred China from participating in the recapture of Kiao-Chau from the Germans in 1914, and that in November, 1915, when China had tried to enter the European conflict at the request of the European powers, Japan, through Baron Ishii, had again refused consent. Another opportunity came to China early in 1917, when the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany and invited all the neutral countries of the world to follow her example. Realizing that China could no longer be kept neutral, Japan at once set to work to insure her Shantung claims in the Peace Conference in anticipation of China's presence at that conference to plead her own cause. Viscount Motono first took up the matter with the British Ambassador at Tokio. This, with other secret correspondence in the second half of February, 1917, is given below:

### TEXT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE

British Embassy, Tokio, Feb. 16, 1917.

My Dear Excellency: With reference to the subject of our conversation of the 27th ultimo, when your Excellency informed me of the desire of the Imperial Government to receive an assurance that on the occasion of a Peace Conference his Britannic Majesty's Government will support the claims of Japan in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in the islands north of the equator, I have the honor, under instructions received from his Britannic Majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to communicate to you the following message from his Britannic Majesty's Government:

His Britannic Majesty's Government accede with pleasure to request of the Japanese Government for an assurance that they will support Japan's claims in regard to the disposal of Germany's rights in Shantung and possessions in the islands north of the equator on the occasion of the Peace Conference; it being understood that the Japanese Government will in the eventual peace set-



tlement treat in the same spirit Great Britain's claims to the German islands south of the equator.

I avail myself of this opportunity, *M. le Ministre*, to renew to your Excellency the assurance of my highest consideration.

CONYNGHAM GREENE,

His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador.

To his Excellency, Viscount Ichiro Motono, his Imperial Japanese Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs.

In his reply to the above communication from the British Ambassador, Motono, after the usual diplomatic exchange of courtesies, wrote:

The Japanese Government is deeply appreciative of the friendly spirit in which your Government has given assurance and happy to note it as fresh proof of the close ties that unite the two allied powers. I take pleasure in stating that the Japanese Government on its part is fully prepared to support in the same spirit the claims which may be put forward at the Peace Conference by his Majesty's Britannic Government in regard to the German possessions in the islands south of the equator.

The date of this letter is Feb. 21, 1917.

#### JAPAN'S OVERTURES TO FRANCE

On Feb. 19 Motono wrote notes to the Russian and French Ambassadors at Tokio, as follows:

The Imperial Japanese Government has not yet formally entered into conversations with the Entente powers concerning the conditions of peace I propose to present to Germany, because it is guided by the thought that such questions ought to be decided in concert between Japan and the said powers at the moment when the peace negotiations begin. Nevertheless, in view of recent developments in the general situation, and in view of the particular arrangements concerning peace conditions, such as arrangements relative to the disposition of the Bosphorus, Constantinople, and the Dardanelles, being already under discussion by the powers interested, the Imperial Japanese Government believes that the moment has come for it also to express its desires relative to certain conditions of peace essential to Japan and to submit them for the consideration of the Government of the French Republic.

The French Government is thoroughly informed of all the efforts the Japanese Government has made in a general manner to accomplish its task in the present war, and particularly to guarantee for the future the peace of Oriental Asia and the security of the Japanese Empire, for which it is absolutely necessary to take

from Germany its bases of political, military, and economic activity in the Far East.

Under these conditions the Imperial Japanese Government proposes to demand from Germany at the time of the peace negotiations the surrender of the territorial rights and special interests Germany possessed before the war in Shantung and the islands situated north of the equator in the Pacific Ocean.

The Imperial Japanese Government confidently hopes the Government of the French Republic, realizing the legitimacy of these demands, will give assurance that, her case being proved, Japan may count upon its full support on this question.

It goes without saying that reparation for damages caused to the life and property of the Japanese people by the unjustifiable attacks of the enemy, as well as other conditions of peace of a character common to all the Entente powers, are entirely outside the consideration of the present question.

#### FRENCH REPLY TO MOTONO

Twelve days later the French Ambassador replied to the Japanese Foreign Office as follows:

The Government of the French Republic is disposed to give the Japanese Government its accord in regulating at the time of the peace negotiations questions vital to Japan concerning Shantung and the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator. It also agrees to support the demands of the Imperial Japanese Government for the surrender of the rights Germany possessed before the war in this Chinese province and these islands.

M. Briand demands, on the other hand, that Japan give its support to obtain from China the breaking of its diplomatic relations with Germany, and that it give this act desirable significance. The consequences of this in China should be the following:

First, handing passports to the German diplomatic agents and Consuls.

Second, the obligation of all under German jurisdiction to leave Chinese territory.

Third, the internment of German ships in Chinese ports and the ultimate requisition of these ships in order to place them at the disposition of the Allies following the example of Italy and Portugal. According to the information of the French Government there are fifteen German ships in Chinese ports totaling about 40,000 tons.

Fourth, requisition of German commercial houses established in China; forfeiting the right of Germany in the conces-



sions she possesses in certain parts of China.

On receipt of the above Motono wrote expressing profound thanks for the friendly sentiments inspiring the French Government, and in behalf of Japan promised compliance with Briand's request to get China to break relations with Germany, adding that it had spared no effort in that direction from the beginning.

The Russian Ambassador wrote very briefly to Motono Feb. 20 committing his Government also to the support of the Japanese claims at the Peace Conference.

So far as Italy was concerned, this same business was transacted, not at Tokio, but at Rome, where the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs on March 23 gave the Japanese Ambassador assurance that Italy would offer no objections in the matter.

Thus Japan, by obtaining the previous agreement of England, France, Russia, and Italy, made her individual position before the Peace Conference unassailable, profiting by the disadvantageous position in which she had found herself at the Portsmouth Conference, when the Russians insisted on retroceding to China the rights they had previously been granted by the Chinese Empire in connection with the leased territory of Port Arthur.

#### ISHII'S EXPLANATION

Viscount Ishii, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States, issued at Washington on April 24, 1919, a statement in contradiction of a press dispatch from a well-known foreign correspondent, which had pointed out that Viscount (then Baron) Ishii had been opposed to Chinese participation in the war, and had credited him as saying to the European Ambassadors at Tokio that "Japan could not view without apprehension the moral awakening of 400,000,000 Chinese, which would result from their entering the war." Denying this in his statement, Viscount Ishii said:

Was I apprehensive of the moral awakening of the 400,000,000 Chinese? The idea is fantastic. It is to effect this very awakening of the Chinese that Japan has been putting forth all efforts for these many years; sending professors to China

and welcoming Chinese students to Japan. So long as China remains in a state of lethargy, she is in danger of her existence. And that danger is at the same time Japan's danger. Japan's security lies in the awakening and rising to power of China.

But inducing China to participate in the war of 1915 was another affair, which I could not in conscience indorse. China was then passing through a most critical period. Yuan Shih-kai, President of the young republic, who was fitly called the Huerta of China, had just started his monarchical movement and sought to nip China's new-born liberty in the bud by assuming the title of Emperor, with all that that title meant in China. An armed opposition had sprung up in Yunnan and was gathering strength from day to day.

The whole country was on the verge of revolution and anarchy. China was, moreover, utterly destitute of arms and ammunition. What could we expect from her in such a condition?

The military value to the Entente of the proposed Chinese participation was almost nil. The mere fact of a declaration of war by China would have immensely added to the excitement of the people, and rendered confusion worse confounded throughout the whole country. The greatest sufferer from such a condition in China would be, next after China herself, her neighbor, Japan. Again, from a humanitarian point of view, it was the duty of every belligerent to endeavor to restrict the spheres of war calamity, unless substantial military advantage were to accrue from their extension.

I know my successor at the Foreign Office, Tokio, took two years later a different view on this question. He had probably his own reason in the presence of the changed situation.

#### VICTORY FOR JAPAN

The question of Japan's claims to the Shantung Peninsula was taken up by the Council of Three, in the absence of Premier Orlando, on April 23. Japan's case was presented by Viscount Chinda and Baron Makino at the morning session, and the case of China by Dr. Wellington Koo and other Chinese delegates at the afternoon session. It was Japan's desire that the adjustment should be written into the peace treaty. It was understood that the two delegations were not far apart upon China's obtaining ultimate control of Kiao-Chau, but that the main difference was over accomplishing this by cession through Japan or by immediate recognition of China's territorial control.



It was officially announced on April 30 that an agreement regarding the Shantung Peninsula and Kiao-Chau had been reached between the Council of Three and the Japanese delegates, providing for the transfer of these territories without reserve to Japan, which voluntarily engaged to withdraw all military forces and hand the Shantung Peninsula back to China. Japan, as an economic concessionaire, received only such rights, under the agreement, as are possessed by one or two others of the great powers. The whole future relation between Japan and China, as well as the territorial integrity and political independence of China, was to come at once under the guarantee of the League of Nations. Commenting upon the announcement the Reuter correspondent said:

The Kiao-Chau settlement is a clear victory for Japan. The Council of Three, after hearing both Chinese and Japanese delegates, arrived at the conclusion that the Japanese demands must be satisfied. Japan receives free disposition of Kiao-Chau in accordance with her treaty with China in 1915.

It was added that Japan's other agreements with China were not to be affected. It was left to the Chinese and Japanese Governments to agree upon the details of the carrying out of the treaty of 1915 and also of the agreements made in 1918.

#### SOVEREIGNTY TO BE RESTORED

The agreement was stated to be a compromise, inasmuch as Japan must restore to China full sovereignty and political rights over Kiao-Chau and the whole Shantung Province. Besides the railroad and other concessions which she already holds, Japan is to be allowed to establish a settlement at Tsing-tao, south of Kiao-Chau, and to restore those political rights which, she holds, came to her as Germany's successor in this region, in her own way and as a free agent, instead of being compelled to surrender them summarily to China through the Peace Conference. The time of this surrender was not stated. Two periods had been suggested, one year, and eighteen months. Japan objected to

a time limit as a reflection on her good faith.

Among the circumstances said to have influenced the decision was the fact that Japan was strong enough economically to withdraw from the League in case she lost everything, in which event China would have gained nothing, as Japan would then have simply carried out her full program of annexation and political and economic control.

Both houses of the Chinese Parliament in Peking passed a resolution on April 30, protesting, through the Foreign Office, to the delegates of the five great powers at Paris against the transfer of the control of Kiao-Chau to Japan. Both houses requested that Kiao-Chau be restored direct to China without condition. They also asked that concessions in connection with the Kiao-Chau-Chinan Railway, which were exacted from the Chinese Government by Germany, and protocols of agreement relative to the Kaomi and Tsing-Chowfu and other extensions of the Kiao-Chau Railway be canceled.

#### TEXT OF CHINA'S PROTEST

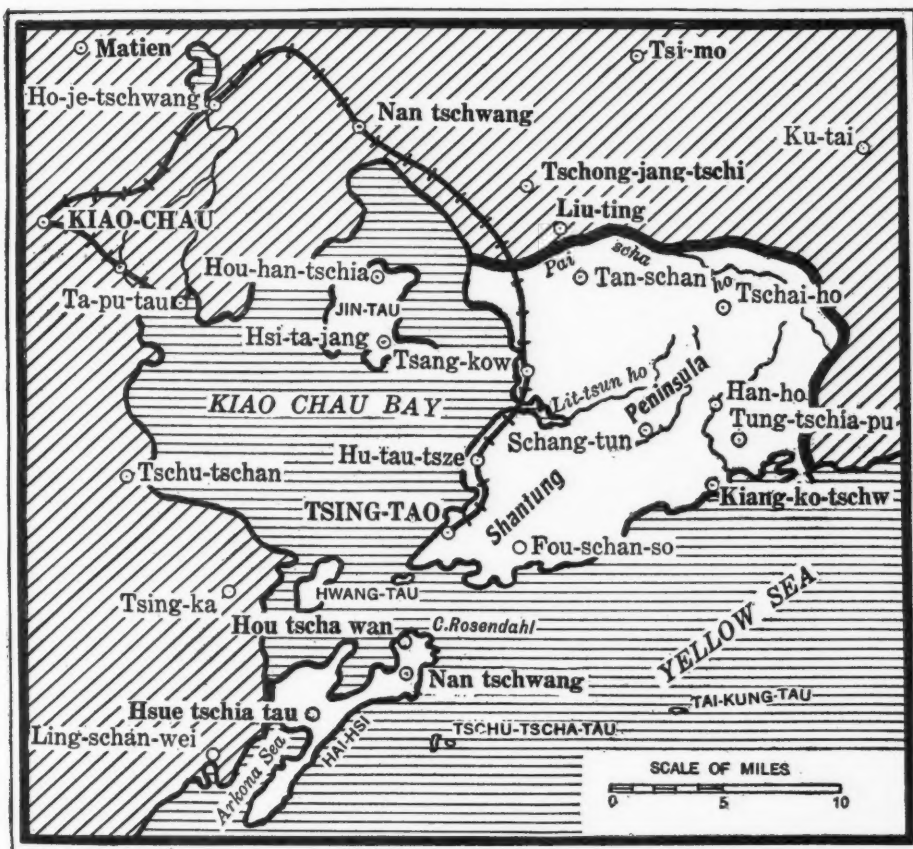
The Chinese delegation in Paris issued a statement on May 2 expressing dissatisfaction with the decision. The statement in full reads:

The Chinese delegation has been informed orally on behalf of the Council of Three of the outline of the settlement proposed regarding the Shantung question. Under this settlement all rights to Kiao-Chau, formerly belonging to Germany, are transferred to Japan. While Japan voluntarily engages to hand back the Shantung Peninsula in full sovereignty to China, she is allowed to retain the economic privileges formerly enjoyed by Germany.

These privileges, the delegation is informed, refer to the Tsing-tao-Chinan Railway, 280 miles long; the mines connected with it, and the two railways to be built connecting Shantung with the two trunk lines from Peking to the Yangtse Valley. In addition, she obtains the right to establish a settlement at Tsing-tao, and, although the Japanese military forces, it is understood, will be withdrawn from Shantung at the earliest possible moment, the employment of special railway police is permitted.

Such being the outline of the proposed settlement, the Chinese delegation can-





MAP OF SHANTUNG PENINSULA, (BASED ON A GERMAN CHART,) SHOWING FORMER GERMAN CONCESSION IN WHITE. THIS AREA, WITH THE CITY OF KIAO-CHAU, IS TO BE RETURNED TO CHINA BY JAPAN, WITH CERTAIN RESERVATIONS

not but view it with disappointment and dissatisfaction.

These German rights in Shantung originated in an act of wanton aggression in 1897, characteristic of Prussian militarism. To transfer these rights to Japan, as the Council of Three proposes to do, is, therefore, to confirm an act of aggression which has been resented by the Chinese people ever since its perpetration.

Such a virtual substitution of Japan for Germany in Shantung is serious enough in itself, but it becomes grave when the position of Japan in Southern Manchuria and Eastern Mongolia is read in connection with it. Firmly intrenched on both sides of the Gulf of Pe-chili, the water outlet of Peking, with a hold on the three trunk lines from Peking and connecting it with the rest of China, the capital becomes but an enclave in the midst of Japanese influence.

Moreover, owing to China's declaration of war against the Central Powers on

Aug. 14, 1917, and the abrogation of all treaties and agreements between China and these powers, the German rights automatically reverted to China. This declaration was officially notified to and taken cognizance of by the allied and associated Governments. It is, therefore, significant that the Council in announcing the settlement of the Kiao-Chau-Shantung question referred to the rights to be transferred to Japan as "the rights formerly belonging to Germany."

It appears clear, then, that the Council has been bestowing on Japan the rights, not of Germany, but of China; not of an enemy, but of an ally. The more powerful ally has reaped a benefit at the expense, not of the common enemy, but of the weaker ally.

#### CHINA'S HOLY LAND

Besides, Shantung is China's Holy Land, packed with memories of Confucius and Mencius and hallowed as the cradle



of her civilization. If it is the intention of the Council to restore it to China, it is difficult to see on what consideration of principles or of expediency can be justified the transfer in the first instance to an alien power which then "voluntarily engages" to hand it back to the rightful owner.

Japan based its claim for the German rights in Shantung also on the treaty and notes of 1915, and the notes of 1918 with China. It is to be noted, however, that the documents of 1915 were agreed to by China under coercion of an ultimatum threatening war in case of non-compliance with the twenty-one demands.

The notes of 1918 were made by China as the price for Japan's promise to withdraw her troops, whose presence in the interior of Shantung, as well as the establishment of Japanese civil administration bureaus in the district, had aroused such popular opposition that the Chinese Government felt constrained to make the arrangement.

The Chinese delegation understands that the Council was prompted by the fact that Great Britain and France had undertaken in February and March, 1917, to support at the Peace Conference the transferring to Japan of the German rights in Shantung. To none of these secret agreements was China a party, nor was she informed of their contents when invited to join the war against the Central Empires. The fortunes of China appear thus to have been made objects of negotiation and compensation after she had already definitely allied herself with the allied powers.

Apart from this, it is at least open to question how far these agreements will be applicable, inasmuch as China has since become a belligerent. The claims of Japan referred to in this agreement appear, moreover, to be scarcely compatible with the Fourteen Points adopted by the powers associated against Germany.

If the Council has granted the claims of Japan in full for the purpose of saving the League of Nations, as is intimated to be the case, China has less to complain of, believing, as she does, that it is a duty to make sacrifices for such a noble cause as the League of Nations. She cannot, however, refrain from wishing that the Council had seen fit, as would be far more consonant with the spirit of the League now on the eve of formation, to call upon strong Japan to forego her claims animated by a desire for aggrandizement, instead of upon weak China to surrender what is hers by right.

China came to the conference with a strong faith in the lofty principles adopted by the allied and associated powers as the basis of a just and permanent world peace. Great, therefore, will be the

disappointment and disillusion of the Chinese people over the proposed settlement.

If there is reason for the Council to stand firm on the question of Fiume, there would seem to be all the more reason to uphold the claim of China relating to Shantung, which includes the future welfare of 36,000,000 souls, and the highest interest of peace in the Far East.

#### STATEMENT OF PRESS BUREAU

On May 4 the Chinese Press Bureau in Paris issued a supplementary statement, in which it declared that new light on the supplement of the Kiao-Chau-Shantung question had made the Chinese delegation indignant. This statement in part was as follows:

Japan is given everything Germany obtained from China by aggression, and more. She is given all the rights, titles or privileges, concerning especially the territory of Kiao-Chau and the railways, mines, and submarine cables Germany acquired by virtue of the Treaty of 1898, and of all other acts concerning the Province of Shantung. Japan is given all the rights in the Tsing-tao-China railway, its branches and the mines attached thereto; the submarine cables from Tsing-tao to Shanghai and from Tsing-tao to Chefoo, and all German public property rights, movable and immovable, in the territory of Kiao-Chau.

Although China has the best title to these rights, which are all in Chinese territory, not a word is said in the draft clauses as to what rights China may expect to recover for herself. It is entirely with Japan to say what she will be pleased to return to China and what she will retain for her own enjoyment.

The important fact seems to be altogether ignored that Shantung is a Chinese province, the territory of a partner in the war on the side of the allied and associated powers. The Tsing-tao Railway was built with Chinese and German private capital, while the line of 280 miles is entirely in Chinese territory. To substitute Japan's for Germany's rights in this territory is to endanger greatly the welfare and security of the Chinese Republic, because Japan is much nearer to China than Germany and because she already claims a sphere of influence in Manchuria close to the north of Shantung.

Reading the draft clauses, together with the outlines the Council has proposed in settlement, it is clear that the Council makes China lose both ways. It has given Japan not only more than Germany had in Shantung, but also more than Japan claims from China in the Treaty of 1915 and the notes of 1918.

The Council's proposed settlement seems to sanction, for example, the policing of



the Shantung Railway, a privilege which Germany did not exercise nor claim, and it is apprehended it substitutes a permanent Japanese settlement under Japanese control and administration for a German leasehold limited to a fixed period of years. Again, by transferring to Japan all German rights in Shantung, as stated in the draft clauses, it also appears to give Japan preferential rights which she did not claim from China, such as the supply of capital, materials and technical experts in Shantung.

The more the Chinese delegates study the proposed settlement, the less they understand its meaning and purpose and the more they feel aggrieved. It will be difficult to explain to the Chinese people what the Peace Conference really means by justice.

#### CABLE FOR INSTRUCTIONS

It developed on May 9 that the Chinese delegation in Paris, uncertain what course to follow, had cabled to the Peking Government for instructions, and that this cable had crossed a message sent by the Chinese Prime Minister before he had had time to receive the delegation's appeal for guidance. In this communication the Chinese Government told the delegates that if they signed the treaty it would be bad for China; it was also intimated that in this event the return of the delegation would be attended by personal danger, owing to the violence of the public resentment against the assigning of Shantung to Japan. The Chinese delegates, however, stated that they regarded this message merely in the light of personal advice, and they announced that they would wait for an answer to their official request for instructions before determining their final line of action at the Peace Conference. They stated at the same time that they had also received a warning from the Joint Commission of North and South China in session at Shanghai urging them not to sign. As to the responsibility for the decision in favor of Japan, they declared that they did not blame Mr. Wilson, who was confronted with obstacles that were insurmountable in the combination of Great Britain and Japan linked by the Asiatic policy of the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour.

Five thousand Chinese students marched to the American and British Embassies in Peking on May 5 to urge

the Council of Three to reconsider the Shantung decision. The police prevented the admission of the crowd to the Legation Square. The students then set fire to the residence of the Minister of Communications. During the disorders the Chinese Minister to Tokio, then in Peking, was seriously injured.

#### DISORDERS IN CHINA

Further confirmation of the intensity of Chinese feeling against the Japanese was given by Ambassador Morris at Tokio in reviewing the disorders above described. The Chinese delegation in Paris received messages from various parts of China threatening them with violence if they signed the treaty. One dispatch sent by 35,000 citizens of Shantung Province, the territory in dispute, and dated Tsinan-Fu, May 11, said:

Regarding the Tsing-tao problem Japan shows contempt for public right and never ceases to be ambitious. The people of Shantung refuse to accept as effective such illegal demands. The traitors to our country, Tsao Yu-Lin (Minister of Communications, whose house was burned at Peking) and Chang Tsung-Hsiang, (former Minister to Japan, who was severely beaten by the Chinese, deserved death for the blow suffered by the Chinese people. Should you sign the Japanese proposal you must receive the same treatment upon returning to China. We cannot give ear to apologies. Do not fail us. We are much in earnest.

Another message from the Province of Che-Kiang, dated Hangchow, May 10, and addressed to the Chinese Peace Delegates, said:

The Assembly is extremely disappointed at hearing that the disposal of Tsing-tao has been left to the discretion of Japan alone. All are prepared to do what the crisis demands, but are hoping that you will yet effect a change in the situation. If necessary, withdraw from the Conference without signing the protocol. You can depend upon the full moral support of the people at home.

Chinese colonies and associations in all parts of the world showered the delegation with resolutions against signing the treaty. The tone of the messages was such that responsible delegates like C. T. Wang, President of the Chinese Senate, said it would be quite impossible to sign unless the delegation received a written



assurance of the ultimate return of the Shantung political rights to China.

#### ORGANIZED OPPOSITION

Dispatches reaching Washington on May 8 indicated that cable communication with Peking had been cut off. The service was reopened on May 13. It was also stated that Chinese residents of Shantung Peninsula had organized to oppose the cession to Japan, and had asked all Chinese to join the movement. The plan was to hold meetings, petition the powers, and refuse to submit to the authority of Japan. It was not the intention to start armed opposition, but to hold demonstrations similar to those in Korea. Japan, it was said, had sent a warning to the Chinese authorities foreshadowing action in the event of violence done to Japanese subjects in this region.

It appeared on May 11 that Shantung Province had sent a special mission to Paris to plead for direct cession to China. This mission was composed of Dr. H. K. Kung, formerly Vice Speaker of the Shantung Provisional Assembly,

and Dr. T. H. Hsu, a graduate of the University of Illinois. On their way via New York to Paris these delegates reviewed the whole situation.

Expressing their fears as to the scope of the Shantung cession, regarding which they still had no complete information, they gave utterance to their conviction, which they declared represented the true feeling of all the people of China, that if Japan controlled Shantung Province, with what is considered the best seaport in China, as well as the railways, it would soon dominate Northern China. Gradually Japan would extend its control over Southern China, they said, and then when it felt strong enough it would declare a Monroe Doctrine of the Orient, eliminating Western nations from trade and settlement in the East. In this way Japan, which had become greatly strengthened during the war, would in a comparatively short time dominate the 400,000,000 people of China. These expressions, they maintained, represented accurately the national sentiment of China.

## Fate of the German Colonies

### Mandararies Named

THE disposition to be made of the former German colonies was decided at the Peace Conference in Paris on May 6, 1919, by the Council of Three—M. Clemenceau, President Wilson, and Mr. Lloyd George. All are to be ruled under mandates from the League of Nations. The two greatest German possessions in Africa are assigned to British rule, and the other two are to be divided between Great Britain and France under an arrangement to be settled upon by those two countries. Japan gets the mandate for all the German islands in the Pacific north of the equator, and most of those south of the equator are to be divided between Australia and New Zealand. The official statement in detail is as follows:

Togoland and Kamerun.—France and Great Britain shall make a joint recom-

mendation to the League of Nations as to their future.

German East Africa.—The mandate shall be held by Great Britain.

German Southwest Africa.—The mandate shall be held by the Union of South Africa.

The German Samoan Islands.—The mandate shall be held by New Zealand.

The other German Pacific possessions south of the equator, excluding the German Samoan Islands and Nauru.—The mandate shall be held by Australia.

Nauru (Pleasant Island).—The mandate shall be given to the British Empire.

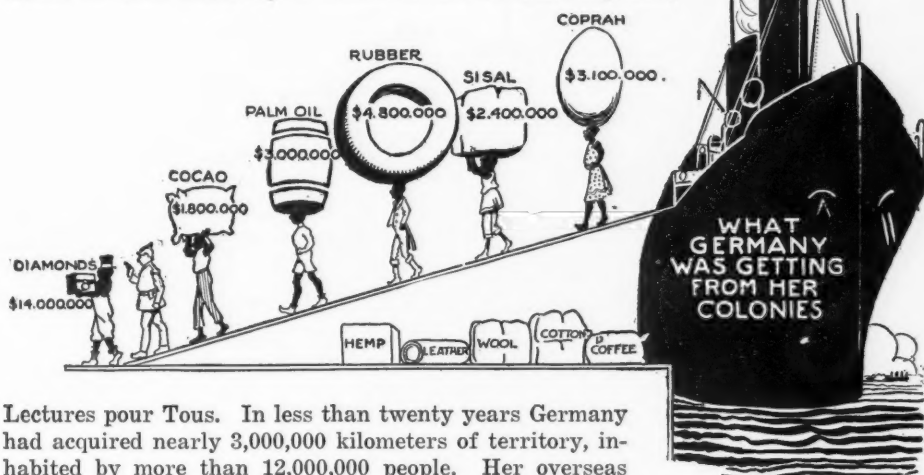
The German Pacific islands north of the equator.—The mandate shall be held by Japan.

Thirty-five years ago Germany did not possess a single colony. In 1884 she acquired at one stroke three large territories in Africa—Togo, Kamerun, and Southwest Africa. The same year she occupied a third of the



largest island in the world, New Guinea, besides the small islands that border it. The following year she put her hand upon East Africa. In 1897 she established herself upon the coast of China, at Kiao-Chau; in 1899, in the Carolines, in the Palaos, in the Mariannes, and in the Marshall Islands; in 1900, in the Samoan Islands, and thus eventually she became one of the main powers of the Pacific Ocean.

The results of this colossal acquisition of territory are traced in some detail by a writer in the French magazine,



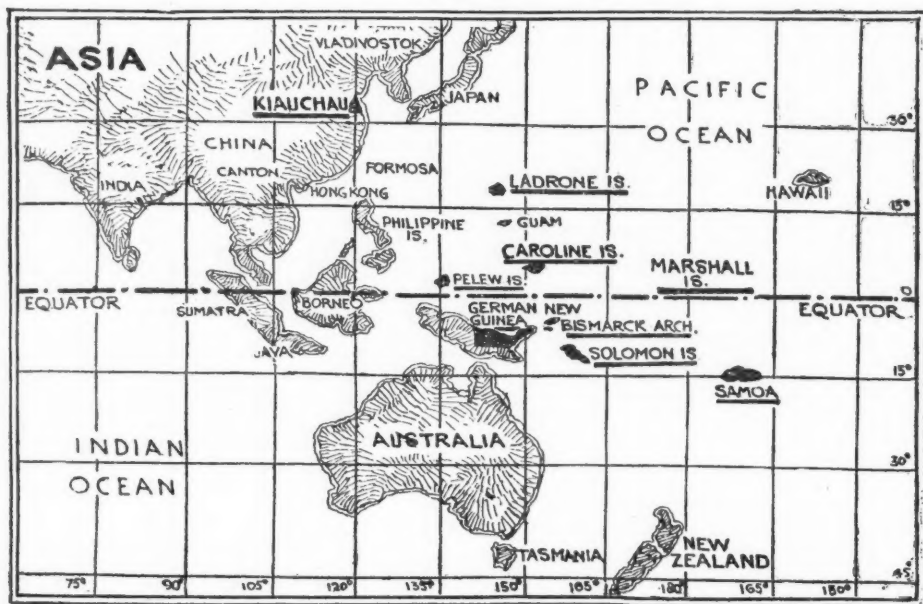
Lectures pour Tous. In less than twenty years Germany had acquired nearly 3,000,000 kilometers of territory, inhabited by more than 12,000,000 people. Her overseas empire was the third in the world for extent, the fourth

for population, after those of Great Britain, France, and the Low Countries. Greater Germany had in her favor not only extent of territory and number of native inhabitants, she possessed also that precious quality for an ambitious power, distribution throughout the entire world. Wherever there was a piece of land either colonized or capable of being colonized by Europeans, there was also to be found a German province, large or small. Germany could intervene everywhere. Everywhere in Africa, in the Far East, in the Pacific, she had the ability, by



INHABITANTS AND AREAS OF DEPENDENCIES





FORMER GERMAN COLONIES IN THE PACIFIC—NAMES UNDERLINED

means of one of those effective quarrels to which her name has become attached, to attack her neighbor and take from him his domain. This was world-politics in perspective—*Weltpolitik*!

What a colonizing people seeks first of all is land for its emigrants, if the home country has more inhabitants than it can support. In Germany the excess of births over deaths passed yearly a total of 800,000. And yet Germany did not especially seek to people colonies; she preferred to send her nationals to other countries. The United States, Brazil and the Argentine Republic, Russia, the Orient, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, and even France—these were the true domains of German emigration. Even when naturalized, the migrant Germans remained Germans; by the strange privilege of a law of circumstances, the so-called "Dernburg law," they remained the faithful children of old Germany, the good servants of *Deutschtum*.

The German colonial empire, situated almost entirely in the tropical zone, too warm and too damp to suit the Europeans, held only one territory of really temperate climate, Southwest Africa;

here, however, there were only a few hundred Germans, while the countries named above had millions. But in an atlas published by the German geographer Langhans, and bearing the title "German Colonial Atlas," figured maps on which pink-colored "German colonies" were depicted as including the German-Americans and all similar transplanted Germans from Petrograd to Rio de Janeiro and from Antwerp to Constantinople.

But what a colonizing people seeks, in the second place, is territories capable of furnishing it with comestibles and the raw materials of industry which it does not find upon its own soil. It seeks also natives who will purchase the manufactured articles which it turns out from its factories. Germany sought this above all in her colonial empire. She envied the United States for the ability to find upon its own soil all kinds of products and beneath the soil all useful and precious minerals. Since she could not be like the United States, she aspired to be like England, and also like France, and to carve out for herself, if need be, at the expense of these two, an empire which would furnish her with all the raw ma-



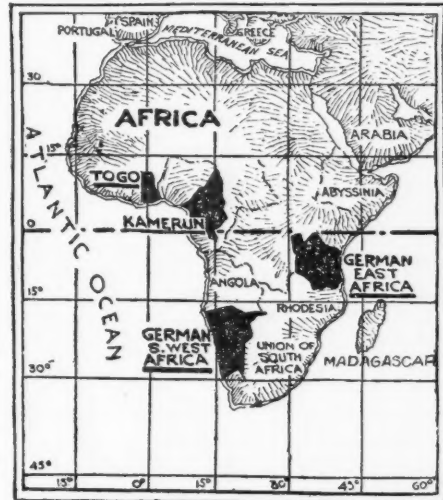
terials which her formidable industry purchased for a sum that grew in volume yearly.

That is why the great manufacturers of the Rhine and Westphalia, the Krupps, the Thiessens, the Rathenaus, were the most ardent colonizers of Germany. That is why Germany, without ceasing to seek in her tropical colonies coffee, cocoa, sugarcane, rice, bananas, and manioc, demanded from them above all rubber, so as to have no further need of Brazil, the Belgian and French Congo, and English Malaysia; cotton, so as no longer to depend on India, on Egypt, or on the United States; tropical textiles, jute, raphia, ramie, sisal, so as to be no longer at the mercy of India or some other colony belonging to its Western rivals; finally, and above all, those oleaginous products of the tropical zone, arachide, palm-oil, cocoanut, which produce cheap vegetal oils on which so many industries depend.

Germany received from her own colonies about 66,000,000 francs' worth of these and other products. But her needs mounted to more than one billion and a half of francs, or more than twenty-three times as much as her colonies produced. And all this deficiency must be imported from her rivals. Thus the very profit which German industry derived from her colonies induced her to demand extension of her colonial domain.

When one looks at the map one sees the four pieces of the colonial empire of Germany in Africa and one understands the work of amalgamation which she contemplated. From three directions she purposed to begin the conquest of those territories which separated the German fragments, in order to form some day that Central German Africa of a single piece—that Mittelafrika, the

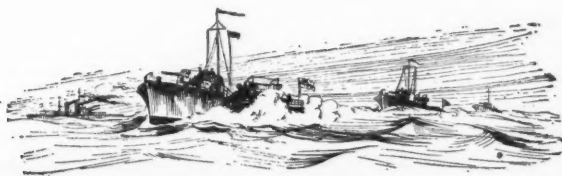
monstrous counterpart of Mitteleuropa, where the German flag would float alone from Kalahari to Abyssinia and



FORMER GERMAN COLONIES IN AFRICA ARE INDICATED BY AREAS IN BLACK

from Senegal to Madagascar. It was absolutely necessary to conquer them, said the German Secretary of State Zimmermann, "at all cost, even though all the devils of hell should be unchained against us."

Such an empire would also have been a marvelous instrument of imperialism. It would have furnished to the German Empire an army of several million blacks trained to German discipline, naval bases to dominate, by the Atlantic, South America, and by the Indian Ocean, the route of Suez and the Indies. That is what Germany dreamed of deriving from this empire of 18,000,000 square kilometers and 90,000,000 inhabitants. This was to be the fairest fruit of German victory.





# Germany on the Eve of Peace

## Communist Revolt in Munich Crushed by Noske's Prussian Troops—An Era of Unrest and Suspense

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

SPARTACAN terrorism sank into the background during the last weeks of Germany's anxious wait for the Peace Treaty. Mainly food shortage and industrial problems occupied the German mind, suffering from an intensified nerve strain. The overthrow of the Munich Communist Government on May 2 removed the last stronghold of fear in the latter respect, though the situation in Saxony still held a possibility of disturbance, and the strike epidemic in Upper Silesia caused renewed uneasiness. Such Spartacan outbreaks as developed at Hamburg and Bremen were localized and effectively reduced to order by the firm hand of Minister of Defense Noske.

The Ebert Government continued to show signs of weakness owing to dissensions among members of the Cabinet. Popular indifference as to the fate of the former Emperor and the Hohenzollern Princes was reported. Several documents and letters came to light bearing upon the responsibility of individuals in the conduct of the war, their attitude toward the revolution, and the policy of the Ebert Government. Among these was one from Hindenburg to the former Emperor disclosing his view of socialism and the clauses of a treaty said to have been entered into between the Ebert Government and the Bolshevik Government of Russia. The resignation of Field Marshal von Hindenburg was a notable event in the passing away of the old régime to give place, in this regard, to a new military leader, unknown before the armistice, in the person of General Noske.

### THE MUNICH REVOLUTION

The last days of the Munich revolution were bloody. A red triumvirate, consisting of Sontheimer, Dr. Levien, and Axelrod, the Russian revolutionary "expert," had seized complete control of

the city and adjacent districts. The whole garrison recognized this new Government and expressed willingness to enforce its orders. In the process of hoisting the Sontheimer Government to power 150 persons were reported killed, and the main railway station was entirely wrecked. Food depots and wine cellars were ransacked and the contents distributed. Revolutionary tribunals were promptly set working to try by summary procedure all who by speech, writing, or act opposed the new régime. On April 16 George Renwick cabled The New York Times:

Munich still presents the most gloomy picture on the German stage. A set of ruffians, calling themselves "Ideal Anarchists," are, my Bamberg correspondent wires, in complete control of the situation. They are installed in the Wittelsbach Palace and their council room is the spacious bed chamber of the ex-King. An anteroom is the former monarch's bathroom.

From all over town great supplies of food and wine, appropriated in private houses, have been brought to the palace kitchen, and the mess of the "Ideal Anarchists" is in the vast reception room of the palace. The new régime keeps open house, and it is mostly a crew of terrorists, Red Guards, and various nondescript persons which gathers there at meal times.

The general strike in the city continues. All trams have stopped running. No newspaper appears save the official sheet, containing Government proclamations regarding the socialization of the press, printing establishments, bookshops, cinemas, and theatres. All places of entertainment are shut and nearly all shops are closed.

### BAVARIAN GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS

The Hoffmann Government issued a strong appeal to the whole Bavarian people to rise and fight against the Munich terrorists. The peasants responded by demanding arms with which to march against the capital. Their as-



sociation issued a declaration which asserted "that the devastation of the country, the plundering of houses and barns, and the murdering of peasants by Communist bands had become intolerable." Hoffmann Government troops to the number of 8,000, with artillery, advanced upon Munich from the direction of Augsburg. Their main forces reached Dachau, ten miles northwest of Munich. Advices of the 18th stated that the Hoffmann Government had accepted the offer of 3,000 troops from Württemberg. In view, however, of the military strength of the Munich rebels the Government at Bamberg had decided to call for armed intervention by the German National Government. The stress of the emergency was indicated by the difficulty Premier Hoffmann experienced in persuading his colleagues to agree to the use of Prussian troops in Bavarian territory. By the 18th the Berlin Government troops were moving on Munich.

On April 19 Communist Guards defeated Hoffmann Government troops at Dachau after breaking an armistice to permit the passage of limited food supplies through the lines for the women and children of Munich. Peasants armed with pitchforks and provided with a single machine gun attempted to withstand the Communists, but were overpowered. The Communists captured and looted Dachau. Later several of the peasants were lined up and shot. On the other hand, a Berne message of the 21st stated that loyal Bavarian and Württemberg troops occupied Lindau on Lake Constance, after a short siege. Lindau was the most important Communist stronghold, excepting Munich.

#### THE COMMUNIST FORCES

In Munich preparations went forward to meet the decisive test of strength with Noske's advancing National Government army. All roads leading to the Bavarian capital were occupied and defended with field guns, military posts established around the city, and trenches provided with machine guns. Russian prisoners of war, confined at Puchheim on the outskirts of the city, were liberated and armed. A guard of these soldiers was assigned to patrol the railroad sta-

tion. It was also reported that the Munich Communists had obtained the services of six trained military officers to command the Red Guards. The names of these officers were given as Colonels Staubwasser, Langloss, and Baron von Zoller, who led brigades during the war; Major Paraquin, who joined the Majority Socialists after the revolution, commanded the revolutionary student body of Munich University, and worked for the transformation of the university into a people's high school; Captain Zwehl, a Bavarian cavalry officer, and the Prince of Wied. The social prominence of these officers caused comment as to the motive which prompted them to accept service with the Communists.

Conditions in Munich were growing daily worse. By the 23d the city was cut off completely from the outside world. No one was permitted to leave the city. The fate of the hostages seized by the Communists remained in doubt, owing to a threat to execute one of them every twelve hours until the Hoffmann Government released the Communist leader, Braig. Forged Bavarian money was forced upon tradesmen by the Communist leaders.

#### STERN MEASURES

An attempt of the Munich Government to enter into negotiations with the Hoffmann Government resulted only in the arrest of the Communist emissaries. At Augsburg the development of a serious situation out of the general strikes was checked by the arrest of 220 Communists and the shooting of those captured with arms. A Berlin dispatch of the 25th stated that Count Arco Valley, the assassin of Kurt Eisner, who had remained in a hospital at Munich, had been dragged forth and killed by a Spartan crowd; further, that Herr Auer, former Minister of the Interior, recovering from wounds in the same hospital, sought refuge elsewhere from the mob, and that former War Minister Rosshaupter had fled from the city.

Advices of the 26th reported that martial law had been proclaimed throughout Bavaria, and that military operations were about to begin under Lieut. Gen. von Hoehl against the Munich Soviet



Government. The town of Landshut, northeast of Munich, was captured by National Government forces; but south of Munich the Soviet troops advanced to Lake Starnberg and Lake Ammer. In order to stifle a threatened Communist revolt at Nuremberg two Independent Socialist leaders were arrested, together with the whole Commission for the Unemployed. Schmidt, the Communist leader, in resisting arrest was shot and his son badly wounded. The Town Hall and other public buildings at Nuremberg were occupied by Government troops.

#### COMING OF NOSKE'S FORCES

A Berlin message of the 27th announced that Noske, the German Minister of Defense, had been appointed Commander in Chief of all the Government troops to operate against Munich. These troops were soon encircling the city. By the 29th, Bavarian forces, with 15,000 Prussians, had crossed the Danube on the way to Munich. Hoffmann Government scout airplanes flew over the city and were fired on by the Communists.

Upon the advance of Noske's army a panic developed among the Communist leaders. Herr Landauer, Minister of Popular Enlightenment, disappeared on the 27th, and was followed by Herr Fechenbach, later arrested at Ulm. Doctor of Zoology Levien still held out. On April 30 Mr. Renwick telegraphed from Berlin:

The loose, irregular, but probably effective military circle around Munich may be said to have been completed save for a short break to the south. That gap, however, is rapidly being reduced. The Rosenheim Railway and Landshut and neighborhood are firmly in the hands of the Government troops. From that town the advance has been completed half way toward Munich, and General Moehl's troops, together with contingents from Augsburg, have reached and taken Freising. Another force pushed forward to Upper Schleissheim, which is only five or six miles from the outskirts of Munich. Little opposition was encountered. On the other side of the circle the success of the Government troops has been no less striking, and various towns to which the Munich Government pushed out its forces at the end of the week have again been occupied by Hoffmann troops. \* \* \* The first contingents of Prussian troops have

now advanced as far as Ingolstadt, midway between Nuremberg and Munich.

#### MUNICH DELIVERED

On the evening of May 1 the Hoffmann Government rejected a final Communist offer to negotiate. Thereupon Prussian, Bavarian, and Württemberg troops forced a hotly contested entrance into Munich by way of Schwabing, Thalkirchen, and Nymphenburg. An assault on the Wittelsbach Palace and the Ministry of War residence resulted in their capture by Government troops. The majority of the populace received the Government troops joyously, some participating in the fighting by firing on Communist guards from their houses.

The Communists continued the battle into the following day from housetops, barricades, and church towers, from which they poured down a devastating machine-gun fire. Artillery was brought into action with decisive result, and on the 3d the whole of Munich was occupied by Government troops except the Ganhen quarter. Several Communist leaders were captured and some of them were said to have been summarily executed. Dr. Levien was reported to have fallen into Government hands at Augsburg, where an emergency in his airplane flight from Munich compelled his descent.

Confirmation that the Communists had made no idle threat to execute their hostages was obtained in the finding of mutilated bodies, including those of a Prince of Thurn and Taxis, and of the Countess Hella von Westarp. Some 5,000 Communists were arrested. The number killed in the fighting was estimated at 200. An announcement was made by the Berlin Government that its troops would be withdrawn as soon as order was restored.

On May 4 Munich celebrated its liberation from Communist terrorism. Crowds thronged the streets and cheered the Government troops, which included a detachment of 800 Austrians. Bands played and national airs were sung outside the palace. At the suggestion of General von Moehl, the Bavarian commander, who delivered a statement that the North Germans had assisted largely in freeing



the city and were entitled to gratitude instead of the hatred worked up against them, the Prussian soldiers were accorded a novel popularity. The last important Communist stronghold had fallen to Noske's ragged remnants of former battalions and hurriedly recruited volunteer regiments—Noske, who six months before was a person unknown to military fame.

An official announcement was made on May 6 that the damage done in Munich incident to the Communist régime and its overthrow amounted to \$62,500,000.

### POPULAR UNREST

Owing to the discovery of arms and ammunition on the estate of Prince Henry of Prussia at Hemmelmark, Holstein, apparently for defense against roving bands of Spartacans, the Potsdam Soldiers' Council was ordered to search the residences of various Hohenzollern Princes and other feudal estates.

According to the Politiken of April 18, Runge, a soldier in one of the Jäger regiments, was arrested and charged with being an accomplice in the murder of Dr. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg in Berlin. Runge had been put on guard at the Eden Hotel entrance when the soldiers arrived to arrest the revolutionary leaders. As Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg emerged, Runge was said to have swung his rifle and with the butt struck Liebknecht, killing him.

On April 18 General Merker's Prussian corps took possession of Brunswick almost without opposition. The tailor President, Merges, escaped in a motor car, but Eichhorn, ex-Chief of the Berlin Police, was captured. Thus ended the wrangling Soviet administration in Brunswick, which had been in power ever since the November election.

The Berlin general strike was settled on April 19 in favor of the workers. The settlement was tantamount to active recognition of the strikers' demand that they receive a voice in determining engagements, dismissals, and promotions of employes in all work except in executive and directorate positions.

The Easter holidays brought to the greater part of Germany comparative quiet and order. Leipsic newspapers

stated that since the general amnesty order by the new German Government last November 14,293 sentences had been remitted and 2,352 prosecutions dropped in Saxony alone. Of the 2,709 requests for pardon received by the Ministry of Justice, 1,296 had been declared unnecessary because of the amnesty decree, 291 had been granted, and 666 refused. The remainder were under consideration.

### MR. HOOVER'S ULTIMATUM

Berlin advices of April 23 stated that the strike situation in Germany was rapidly calming down. At Hamburg, however, the Communists continued riotous demonstrations against the authorities, seriously affecting the unloading of American food relief ships. Volunteer strikebreakers, composed mostly of merchants and men of the professional classes, who realized the vital need of unloading the food, lent willing shoulders to the work. The threat of a similar condition at Bremen prompted Director General Hoover of the Interallied Relief Organization to issue a message of warning. The Boersen Zeitung, in commenting upon this, said:

Mr. Hoover says shortly and sharply, America has no desire to restrict itself in order that its grain ships may be sunk in the Elbe and its fat kegs may disappear through the riot of a few thousand Spartacans, or that its potatoes shall rot in warehouses because they cannot be transported. America has the good-will to save all from starvation, provided there is assurance of a state of order in Germany. Otherwise there will be no more supplies. That is Mr. Hoover's ultimatum, which just now for Germany is of equal importance with the peace conditions of the Entente.

The Boersen Zeitung asserted that the party leaders had directly or indirectly benefited by the chaos, and charged the whole trouble to the Independent Socialist Party, which, it declared, had been guilty of extortion.

The Berlin executive heads of the Food Distribution Department announced that the city's reserve of frozen meat, of which there were 3,000,000 pounds in January, was exhausted. Herds of cattle were being rapidly depleted. The potato supply would last until June, but apart from that the general food condi-



tions in Berlin, already serious enough, were fast going from bad to worse.

### TREATY WITH LENIN

What purported to be the substance of a treaty entered into by Herr Kautzky, leader of the German Socialists in Moscow, on behalf of the German Government, and Lenin and Tchitcherin of the Russian Bolshevik Government was disclosed by The London Daily Telegraph correspondent at Warsaw in a dispatch of April 21. This treaty was said to have been accepted by the Russian Central Executive Committee the previous week. Its main clauses were given as follows:

The Bolshevik Government shall apply a milder policy toward Russian industry, munitions and arms factories in particular.

The Germans shall set in order the Russian railway system.

The Germans will send some thousands of military instructors to the Russian Army.

Russia undertakes to send every year an agreed amount of provisions to Germany.

Russia binds herself not to enter into any negotiations with the Entente.

In case of need for the next twenty years—that is, till 1939—Russia will provide Germany with military assistance.

The last paragraph deals with a guarantee that the treaty shall remain in force even in the event of the Bolsheviks being replaced by some other Government. It is said that this paragraph is very satisfactory to Germany.

### MACKENSEN'S PLIGHT

An interview with Field Marshal von Mackensen in the Karolyi château in Hungary, where he was a prisoner in the country he had freed from Russian invasion, contained this passage:

I cannot get over the thought that the Hungarians broke their word of honor with me. Despite Karolyi's assurance that he would transfer my quarters quietly from Arad to Papa, my locomotive was run to Budapest by Hungarian drivers. At the Budapest station I received the word of honor of the Hungarian Major, in the name of Count Karolyi, that I could board my train again unmolested, but I was nevertheless informed at the Ministry that I would be interned in Budapest.

I did not hesitate to show my indignation and declined to remain there, in the neighborhood of the French. Then came the proposal of the château at Foth, to

which I had to accede, under compulsion and protest.

Shortly afterward the German Field Marshal was removed under threat of force by the French commandant of occupation to Count Chotek's castle in Southern Hungary, where he remained a prisoner. He was almost the last of his entire army, as he had refused to leave Hungarian soil until all his soldiers had been transported back to Germany.

### INTERNAL REFORMS

In connection with complaints in Germany that the old order of so-called superior persons still maintained its grip on the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service, the Frankfurter Zeitung of March 25 printed a long list of changes to prove that the Ebert Government was proceeding apace in eliminating officials dyed with Kaiserism. Ambassadors, Ministers, Secretaries, Privy Councilors, and Consuls had gone by the board in a surprising number since the entry of Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau upon his duties as Foreign Minister. The personnel of the Foreign Office, never large, had been reduced to barely two hundred. Privileged intrenchment of the landed nobility was taken in hand by Paul Hirsch, head of the new Prussian Government, who issued a decree on March 15 ordering the cutting up of the big family real estate holdings and the dissolution of entails before April 1, 1925. Some 5,000,000 acres became subject to the order. If the estates were not voluntarily broken within the time allotted, the State would step in and do so by force.

Efforts of anti-Junkers to prove that Field Marshal von Hindenburg was not always the "simple soldier" he professed to be, but a politician and a reactionary, resulted in the publication of a letter from the Field Marshal to the former Emperor dated Jan. 7, 1917. In part von Hindenburg wrote:

I hope your Majesty will allow me to say a word about the Social Democracy. The Social Democratic tendencies are, in truth, not nearly so widespread as might be supposed from the showing made by their leaders and the consideration they enjoy. In the beginning of the war the



Social Democratic part of the working class population broke away from its leaders in general, so that the latter had to fall into line. Unfortunately, the Government did not undertake to take over the leadership. So the leadership has gradually drifted again into the hands of the Social Democratic chiefs. But these are today more than ever "me-tooers."

But there are already dangerous signs of growth to be seen. The Social Democratic Working Group [the eighteen Reichstag Deputies who broke away from the Majority Socialists in March, 1916, and laid the foundations for the Independent Socialist Party] entertains the lowest instincts, and even the Social Democratic Majority is compelled, in order not to lose its influence, to plead for all the demands of its followers, no matter how silly and unjust they may be. Therefore, although a Social Democratic danger does not exist at present, still it is high time for the Government to tighten the reins.

The greatest worry at present is as to how the feelings of the people are working. Their sentiments must be raised or we shall lose the war. Our allies also need to have their backbone stiffened or there will be danger of their dropping out. Besides, it is necessary to solve the most serious internal problems of economics and the most important questions for the future, the food policy, preparations for the transition to peace, &c. The question arises if the Chancellor [Bethmann Hollweg] is in a position to solve these problems—and they must be solved correctly or else we are lost.

#### LEADERS AS AUTHORS

A Berlin dispatch of April 29 told of the rush of former Governmental, political, and military leaders into book print. It was suggested that some of them were "running to get under cover," and that forthcoming publications promised interesting recriminations and revelations. Among the most notable of these works were two large volumes by the former Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, and a combination effort by the former Minister of the Navy, Admiral von Tirpitz; the former Prussian Minister of War and State, Lieut. Gen. von Stein, and Colonel von Lettow-Vorbeck, commander of the German troops in East Africa. The foreign rights of the latter were offered for \$250,000.

Publication of the allied indictment of the former Emperor brought a review of

the estimate in which he had come to be held by the mass of the German people. They no longer feared him, and regarded him "as a theatrical villain, whose vainglorious almightiness led to Germany's downfall. They blamed him for not dying on the battlefield, but fleeing, coward-like, from the consequences of his misdeeds. Smarting under the consciousness of having permitted such a man to rule for thirty years, they preferred to bury William's memory forever. If a plebiscite were required to decide upon his surrender to the Allies, it was believed an overwhelming majority would vote in favor of it."

#### HINDENBURG'S RESIGNATION

On May 2 Field Marshal von Hindenburg tendered his resignation to President Ebert. In his letter he wrote:

During the transitional period I considered it my duty to serve the Fatherland, but with the conclusion of a preliminary peace my task will be fulfilled, and my desire to retire, in view of my advanced age, will be universally understood, the more so because it is known how hard it has become for me, in view of my opinions and my entire personality and the past, to continue to exercise my office.

President Ebert replied, assenting to the Field Marshal's request, and expressed the "undying thanks" of the German people for von Hindenburg's services and self-sacrifice.

The text of the correspondence which passed between Chancellor Scheidemann and General Ludendorff over the "plunger" controversy was given out from official sources in Washington May 5. Mainly Ludendorff strove to prove that he had not "played like a gambler with the fate of the German people intrusted to me," either during the war or in events leading up to the armistice. The only response vouchsafed by Scheidemann reads as follows:

In reply to your letter, I must return to the subject later on. For a provisional answer I refer to the inclosed publication circulated by the W. T. B. A final picture of your Excellency's attitude on the armistice question will appear from the documents that the Imperial Government will publish shortly and which will comprise the contents of the documents of October-November, 1918.

Your Excellency's desire to answer



before a State tribunal for your desires and actions can be satisfied only when the final constitution and the State tribunal provided for by it is passed.

#### PEACE TREATY RESENTED

Popular resentment against the terms of the peace treaty took the form of big demonstrations in Berlin, Breslau, Danzig, Königsberg, Cassel, and other places. These demonstrations were organized by the National People's Party. A national week of mourning was proclaimed. It was generally observed except in the small State of Gotha. A Berlin message of May 12 conveyed news from Upper Silesia that the whole German population there was greatly excited over the peace treaty, including even the Independent Socialists. Mass meetings and processions took place at Oppeln, in

which miners' associations joined, carrying black, white, and red flags, and singing German songs. These demonstrations were "for defense against those who would make them Polish."

An Amerongen message of May 9 stated that an official abstract of the peace terms, published in the Dutch newspapers, was translated and read to the ex-Kaiser. No information as to the manner in which the former ruler received the clause relative to his own fate was obtainable. He was reported to be vigorously engaged in his chosen pastime of sawing wood in company with his physician, Dr. Foerster. A further precaution against intrusion upon his privacy was taken by erecting a high fence along the entire side of the castle moat.

## Starting the German Revolution

### How the Committee of Ten Planned the Movement That Disorganized the Kaiser's Forces

By JOSEPH DANZIGER

[Mr. Danziger entered Germany as a war correspondent in May, 1915, and remained there until Dec. 30, 1918. After the American declaration of war he was interned in Berlin with permission to leave the house during daylight hours. The revolutionists, when they gained control, restored his full freedom of action. Having made many acquaintances among labor and Socialist leaders, he was enabled to secure a detailed and exclusive account of the events leading up to the revolution, part of which are here related. Mr. Danziger was permitted by the revolutionists to use the wireless station at Nauern, and sent the first direct communication that had passed between Germany and the United States since the American declaration of war. On Nov. 18, 1918, he sent a long radio message to Mr. Baker, Secretary of War, informing the Government in regard to the character and progress of the German revolution.]

THE revolution in Germany seemed a spontaneous outburst to the world at large. No hint of what was coming was permitted to cross the borders, and once started it spread in a few days from the North Sea to Tyrol; like some mysterious force it leaped from town to town, from province to province, from one grand duchy to the adjoining kingdom, until the entire nation rang with the battle-cry: "Let us have peace and the rule of the people!" But this was only as it appeared to the outsider, who was uncon-

scious of what had been going on behind the scenes for nearly three years.

Two other war correspondents and myself determined to remain in Germany after our Government had declared war, intent on being witnesses of the great historic events in preparation. My two colleagues were recalled by their papers, and it remained for me to be the only American who witnessed the revolution, and who succeeded in securing the secret history of the events preceding it. Details of the revolution are most difficult to obtain. The men who know them will



not, for the most part, speak of them until affairs become more settled, and if they speak at all it is only in the strictest confidence. This is, therefore, so far as I know, the first time the story of the preliminaries to the revolution have ever been printed.

It was Max Hafner, boatswain in the imperial navy and former revolutionary commandant of the Schloss, the five-century-old palace of the Hohenzollerns in Berlin, who gave me the first detailed account of the Committee of Ten and its operations. His story was corroborated in detail, although piecemeal, by Karl Liebknecht and Emil Barth, and another Socialist, who made me promise never to reveal his name. Fate has dealt harshly with the men who made the German revolution possible. Hafner was killed during the attack by the Government troops on the Vorwärts Building in Berlin, where he and about thirty of his comrades were buried in the ruins. Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg both died at the hands of assassins during the same disturbances. Ledebour has long been held a prisoner, and Barth was compelled to resign his office as one of the Commissioners of the people under the Provisional Government.

Both Bart and Haase had told me that they intended to remain in office and fight their opponents of the Majority Party from within the administration, notwithstanding the disaffection of their party with the decisions of the Congress of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates. They made this statement two days before their resignation, and had evidently not counted on Dittmann, the third Independent Socialist on the Board of Commissioners. Dittmann is more temperamental and less calculating than the other two, and during the turbulent December days he forced the party to demand the withdrawal of all of their representatives in the Government. By this move every one of the men who had been instrumental in inserting the thin edge of the wedge under the throne of the Hohenzollerns was eliminated from further participation in the Government they had helped to create.

In the late Summer of 1915 it became

apparent that the war would continue for an indefinite number of years; in fact, that it would continue until one or all of the contestants were utterly exhausted, unless some powerful climax put an end to the blood-letting. It was then that a small group of German radicals decided to terminate the world's torment by other than military means and as quickly as possible. Barth, Liebknecht, Ledebour, Hafner, and Richard Müller, afterward Chairman of the Executive Council of Berlin, were appointed a committee on organization. Early in 1916 five soldiers were added to the committee, which was henceforth known in revolutionary circles as the Committee of Ten. Barth was elected Chairman, more because of his popularity among the masses than because of any great executive ability. The work was begun by privately circulating a series of letters signed "Spartacus," after the famous Thessalonian gladiator who, with his band of 10,000 insurgents, held the mighty power of Rome at bay for a number of years. Most of the Spartacus letters were written by Ledebour, but the authorities had no definite proof of this, and because he was a member of the Reichstag they feared to arrest him without sufficient evidence.

#### AGITATION AMONG SOLDIERS

The Spartacus letters were widely disseminated and awakened a quick response, not only among the working classes, but even among men high in the social scale, who were heartily disgusted with the war and its needless prolongation. I know of at least one big manufacturer whose American plant has recently been sold by the Custodian of Alien Property for \$7,000,000 who contributed liberally to the Spartacus fund. The two daughters of a world-famous magneto manufacturer were also reputed followers of the Spartacus group. But, after all, it was from the wage earner that the greater part of the contributions flowed. These men were earning unprecedented wages, and now if ever was their chance to overthrow the junker system with the Kaiser at its head.

The agitation was inaugurated in the army in January, 1916. This was dif-



ficult and dangerous work, as owing to the constant supervision which the line officers held over the men's quarters in and behind the trenches, and the frequent inspections by higher officers, it was almost impossible to conceal radical literature, and the militarists soon got wind of the movement and issued an order that any one found with an incriminating leaflet on his person would immediately be executed after a drumhead court-martial. Many an innocent man was thus summarily compelled to face a firing squad for no other reason than that revolutionary literature was found in his bunk, although this may have been put there by a comrade who wished to avoid suspicion. Even men under the lightest suspicion were removed from the front and thrown into dungeons, where many of them languished for years without trial, until released during the first weeks of the revolution.

Far from suppressing the agitation, this violent method of dealing with the radicals only added fuel to the flames. The Spartacans gained so large a following in so short a time that the Government was forced to recognize the movement as a serious menace to its power. Certain centres became the foci of revolutionary agitation. Some of these, such as Spandau, where the great Government munition works were located, or Düsseldorf, in the heart of the coal region, soon became hotbeds of revolt.

#### THE KIEL REVOLT

But it remained for Kiel, at the outlet of the canal to the North Sea, to distinguish itself as the centre from which the revolution was to spread throughout the empire. The men at Kiel had plenty of time to think during the interludes of their naval duties. After the battle of Jutland it was apparent even to the dullest stoker that the German fleet was hopelessly inferior to the British. The drill or practice cruises only signified disagreeable routine, which would never again lead to an active engagement. Speaking of the conditions leading up to the Kiel revolt, Captain Persius of the German Navy says in his book, "Tirpitz, der Totengräber der

deutschen Flotte," (Berlin: Koch & Jurgens, 1919:)

In the course of the war the situation became ever more acute. The high seas fleet was condemned to inaction. Demoralizing influences were exercised by the everlasting sameness of life aboard ship, the close quarters, the eternal drill, the Prussian militarism, i. e., the failure to comprehend the soul of the common sailor, failure to take personalities into consideration, and the unnecessarily stern punishments for the slightest transgressions; the gradually growing realization that all was in vain, that the fleet could not contend against the overwhelming superiority of the enemy, and especially that the U-boat war was a failure.

The beginning of 1917 found the army as well as the navy saturated with the spirit of revolution. The autocrats of Potsdam took alarm and the Kaiser issued his famous Easter message, which proclaimed the early "reform" of the Prussian three-class ballot law. Liberal thought had even then grown so strong that at Whitsuntide Wilhelm was compelled to amend his vague promise by a more definite statement that at the earliest possible moment the existing law would be superseded by one granting "the secret, direct, and universal ballot to my subjects of Prussia." It was too late for such palliatives, although too early for the revolution. So thought the Committee of Ten, but Liebknecht was of a different opinion. On his own responsibility he ordered a general strike for May Day of that year. A few thousand men and women in Berlin and its suburbs responded. Several thousand attempted to create a diversion by parading in the streets, but were easily dispersed by the police without the aid of the soldiers. While attempting to address a crowd on the Potsdamer Platz, Liebknecht was arrested, tried by court-martial, as he was an enlisted man, and sentenced to a long term in prison.

#### PLOT AND COUNTERPLOT

The attempted strike, which was openly of a revolutionary nature, created much alarm among the ruling powers. Their attention was soon directed to Kiel. An agent provocateur, an officer disguised as a warrant officer, was as-



signed to Kiel station and soon wormed his way into the confidence of the men. However, the Committee of Ten was not to be caught napping; it also had its secret agents, and in no less exalted a position than the Admiralty Building on the Augusta Ufer in Berlin. The committee was informed of the counterplot of the Government spy and hastened to perfect its plans for a revolt and insurrection at the end of the campaign of 1917. Meantime the alleged warrant officer at Kiel was "accidentally" drowned during a practice cruise off Helgoland. He had, however, secured the names of several members of the Kiel Sailors' Council, and had reported them to Berlin. The conspirators were arrested and summarily shot without trial, and Ledebour's demands for an investigation by the Reichstag were repeatedly suppressed by special command of the "All-Highest."

Of the sixty-two members of the Sailors' Council twenty-eight met their fate in front of a firing squad. The survivors were not sure how much the Government had been able to learn concerning the details of their organization, and on consultation with the Committee of Ten and the various delegates of the Soldiers' Councils scattered throughout the army, it was decided to postpone activities until December, 1918, after the Autumn campaign had simmered down.

#### BOLSHEVIKI TAKE A HAND

In the meantime the committee received active assistance from an unexpected source. The Bolsheviki, on coming to power in Russia, began a worldwide propaganda for a universal revolution, and in Germany they found an organization ready at hand. A Bolshevik agent, in the guise of an ambassador, M. Joffe, took charge of the embassy on Unter den Linden, and truckloads of literature as well as four millions of rubles passed through that palatial structure to the hands which would employ them most effectively.

M. Joffe's activities were finally discovered and he was compelled to abandon the field within twenty-four hours, but his work was even then finished. It required only the match to set off the

powder-cask. On Oct. 5, 1918, the Chancellor, Prince Max, announced to the Reichstag that an armistice had been requested of the Allies. Eight days afterward the high-sea fleet was ordered to sail from Kiel on a practice cruise. The order was commonplace enough, but the amount of coal taken aboard was sufficient for a voyage of many weeks and aroused the suspicion of the men. Their doubts were confirmed later, when the Captain of the Margraf publicly boasted that the fleet was to attack the British naval forces, if necessary to seek them out in Scapa Flow itself. The report spread like wildfire among the men. They were to be sacrificed in a mad attempt to damage the British fleet to such an extent that England would not be in a position to impose severe terms on the defeated foe.

#### SUCCESSFUL MUTINY

The third squadron, including the Margraf, had in the meantime passed through the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal on the way to the North Sea. In spite of the well-filled bunkers, the ships were ordered to put in at Wilhelmshaven and take on more coal. Previous to this, deputations of the crews had visited the several commanders and informed them that although they were prepared to lay down their lives in defense of their native shores, under no circumstances would they engage in a mad enterprise involving the certain destruction of the fleet and the probable death of most of the men. They therefore refused to take the ships beyond the German mine fields.

Other preparations as well as the order to take on more coal convinced the men that, notwithstanding their protests, the desperate adventure was to be attempted. A deputation of the stokers on the Margraf sought out the Captain of the vessel and the Admiral of the squadron and informed their superiors that they would not load any coal in addition to the 2,600 tons already on board.

The commandant placed the refractory men under immediate arrest, but at the same time the squadron was ordered to return to Kiel lest the mutinous spirit infect the other ships lying off Wilhelmshaven. The Margraf and her consorts



arrived at Kiel on Oct. 31, and the imprisoned stokers, some thirty in number, were placed in irons and dragged through the streets of Kiel to the guardhouse. This needless humiliation, which made a public spectacle of the transport, instead of cowing the men, as was intended, merely added to their fury.

On Nov. 1 the Sailors' Council met at the Labor Union building in Kiel and resolved to liberate their comrades by force if necessary, and also to compel a cancellation of the orders to fight the British fleet. By this step they anticipated the revolution, which, as has been said, was intended by the Committee of Ten to start after the armistice had been signed, some time in December.

On nearing the guardhouse the mutinous sailors were opposed by a strong detachment of marines, between whom and the bluejackets the traditional ill-feeling existed. Nevertheless, the marines refused to obey orders after some desultory firing, and, abandoning their officers, went over to the mutineers. The combined force then attacked the guardhouse and liberated the men of the Margraf, as well as other prisoners, among them some of the men who had been betrayed in the Summer of 1917.

#### NOSKE'S ADVENT

Nov. 2 was characterized by street fighting between monarchist troops and the insurrectionists, and the latter did not assume a revolutionary character until the 3d; by that time they had greatly increased their number from the other ships in the harbor, and in many cases from detachments of soldiers who had been sent to subdue them. In the afternoon of the same day a powerful force stormed the fortress-like headquarters of the Commandant of the Port, took the Admiral and several members of his staff prisoners, and held them as hostages in the name of the Sailors' Council, which was then proclaimed as the supreme authority in the German Navy.

The same evening Gustav Noske hastened to Kiel from Berlin and the

next morning was chosen Commissioner of the People and Commandant of the Port. During the street fighting of those two days only seven men were killed, exclusive of officers. No report of the later losses was ever made, but many a private grudge was wiped out in blood, many an insult avenged, before Noske came to restore discipline. This man is a born leader, and under his strict but just rule the civilians as well as sailors and marines enjoyed an orderly regimen.

The events of the succeeding days followed each other with lightning-like swiftness. Bremen, Wilhelmshaven, and Lübeck followed the example of Kiel on Nov. 4 and 5. Hamburg was infected with the spirit of revolt, and the Senate was forced to capitulate to the Workers', Soldiers' and Sailors' Council on Nov. 7. Alarmed at the terrifying occurrences, the Grand Duke of Mecklenburg proclaimed a constitution for his autocracy on the 6th, but it was too late. A few days afterward he was a fugitive without a crown, and the flames had spread to Potsdam and Berlin. The Kaiser fled ere yet the red flag had been hoisted in his old capital. Soldiers at the front and at home, men who had longed for peace these many weary years, hastened to proclaim their allegiance to the republic.

So swiftly had the overturning followed the revolt at Kiel that the Committee of Ten lost its hold on the organization. When the new Government was formed on Sunday, Nov. 9, the committee could only secure the three Commissionerships and one of the presidial seats in the Executive Council. Even these posts they were not to hold for long; a strange and malignant fate seemed to pursue them, and today only four of their number are still alive, two of them in prison. Yet when the history of the German revolution is written their names must head the chapter as the men who brought about the overthrow of the last stronghold of autocracy in Europe.

April, 1919.



## Details of the Kaiser's Abdication

### German Army the Compelling Force

**S**UPPLEMENTARY to the publication in the *Deutsche Zeitung* of the letters of the Kaiser and Crown Prince seeking to justify their conduct at the time of the German débâcle, a memorandum reproduced by *Die Freiheit* on April 5, 1919, throws fresh light on the decisive events leading up to the flight of the Kaiser and his son to Holland. This memorandum, written on Dec. 8, 1918, by Count von der Schulenburg, Commander of the Gardes du Corps Regiment, is summarized herewith:

Schulenburg says that he arrived at Spa on Nov. 9, where he found that all the Headquarters Staff were in a depressed state, and seemed to have almost lost their heads, Marshal von Hindenburg having just announced in a speech that revolution had broken out in Germany. When the necessity for the abdication of the Kaiser was pointed out to Count Schulenburg he rejected the idea, and said that the army was loyal to the Kaiser. He was thereupon invited to go with the others to the Kaiser's headquarters, where Marshal von Hindenburg, General von Plessen, General Marschall, General Groener, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Admiral von Hintze, and others were already assembled. Marshal von Hindenburg told the Kaiser that he must tender his resignation, because as a Prussian officer he could not say to his King what he had to say. To this the Kaiser replied: "We must see first."

General Groener thereupon declared in a long speech that the position of the army was desperate, and that Germany was in the hands of the revolution. Civil war, he said, threatened to break out at any moment in Berlin. The army was no longer reliable. In his view, and in that of Marshal von Hindenburg, a view which was shared by his divisional chiefs and Quartermaster General, the only salvation for the Fatherland lay in the immediate abdication of the Kaiser.

His Majesty then requested Count Schulenburg to give his view. The Count represented that the armies of the Crown Prince's Army Group were still firmly in the hands of their commanders. "At present," he declared, "in their thinned ranks, they are exhausted and overstrained and their one desire is for an armistice and a rest. Once the armistice has begun, it will be extraordinarily difficult again to get the troops to fight the enemy. If, however, they can get a few days' rest it will be possible for the regimental commanders to get them in hand again and to influence them." Count Schulenburg also said that he did not believe the whole Western Army would march into Germany to suppress the revolution, but that he thought reliable troops, equipped with all modern fighting material, might first be sent to Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne to restore order there, if necessary by force of arms. Summing up, Count Schulenburg said the Kaiser must not yield to force and must not abdicate. The Kaiser agreed to this view, and, taking Count Schulenburg aside, declared that he did not desire to abdicate and that Aix-la-Chapelle and Cologne must first immediately be recovered with the help of chosen commanders and specially good troops.

A long discussion followed, in which General Groener again and again declared that events had already gone so far that it was too late for such resolves.

The Kaiser then asked General Groener how he had come to this view regarding the feeling of the army. Schulenburg, he said, had given him an entirely contrary impression. To which the General replied that he was of another opinion. The Kaiser thereupon said, very sharply: "I desire from Marshal von Hindenburg and yourself the report, in black and white, but only when you have ascertained the views of all the Commanders in Chief." The Kaiser emphatically declared that in no circumstances



did he want civil war, and that he would never demand this of the army. He had only one wish, he said, namely, to take the army back home, united and in solid order. General Groener replied: "The army will march back home unitedly under its leaders and commanding Generals, but not under the leadership of your Majesty." Count Schulenburg again contradicted this view.

Marshal von Hindenburg then spoke again, saying that while every Prussian officer must doubtless hold the views expressed by Count Schulenburg, nevertheless all the reports from the homeland and the army made abdication an unavoidable necessity. Both he and General Groener could no longer undertake the responsibility for the reliability of the army. The Kaiser then closed the discussion with the words: "You must ask all my Commanders in Chief about the feeling in the army. If they report to me that the army is no longer loyal to my person, then I am ready to go, but not before."

While the discussion was taking place telephone messages from the Imperial Chancellery were continually arriving concerning the gravity of the situation in Berlin, and demanding the immediate abdication of the Kaiser. The last of these communications reported street fighting in Berlin.

These declarations made the deepest impression on the Kaiser, who was apparently resolved to sacrifice his person in order to avoid civil war. Count Schulenburg then told him that it could at the most be a matter of his abdication as German Kaiser and not as King of Prussia. The Kaiser agreed to his proposals, and said that he would in all circumstances remain King of Prussia and would not leave his army. General Groener laid considerable stress on his own opinion that, although such a decision might have saved the situation a fortnight earlier, it was now much too late. The Imperial Chancellor then telephoned that civil war was inevitable unless the Kaiser's abdication was announced within the next few minutes.

Marshal von Hindenburg, General Groener, and Admiral Hintze then went into the garden to make their report to

the Kaiser. Count Schulenburg himself received the Crown Prince, who had hurried to the scene, and asked him to persuade the Kaiser not to act with undue haste. The Crown Prince had a short conversation with his father, after which Colonel Heye made his report. Colonel Heye declared that all the army commanders said that the army could not be counted upon in the event of civil war. Count Schulenburg interjected, "No soldier would break his oath to the colors," to which General Groener replied, "The oath to the colors and the Supreme War Lord are only an idea."

Admiral Hintze then came in with a telephone message that the situation in Berlin was extremely menacing. He himself must resign, he said, and the monarchy could not be saved any longer if the Kaiser did not abdicate immediately. The Kaiser then gave instructions that the Imperial Chancellor should be informed that he would abdicate as German Emperor, but would remain as King of Prussia and not leave the army. At this moment the chief of the Imperial Chancellery, Wahnscaffe, telephoned that the declaration of the Kaiser's abdication must be in Berlin within the next few minutes. In the afternoon, therefore, the Kaiser's abdication as German Emperor was telephoned by Admiral Hintze to Berlin. At 8:10 P. M. the declaration of abdication, as circulated by the Wolff Bureau, arrived in Berlin. The Imperial Chancellor had, however, already issued the decree, without awaiting receipt of the Kaiser's formal declaration.

The Kaiser, according to Count Schulenburg, received the news with deep emotion, but perfect kingly dignity. Count Schulenburg making a statement regarding the loyalty of the army, the Kaiser said he was King of Prussia and would remain so, and would not leave the army. When saying "Good-bye," he stated to Count Schulenburg: "I will remain with the army," but, at the conference which immediately followed, Hindenburg and General Groener declared that the Kaiser must leave headquarters and go to Holland, because they could not guarantee his safety even for an-



other night, and Admiral von Hintze was instructed by the Foreign Office of Berlin to take the necessary steps for the Kaiser's departure to Holland. Count Schulenburg therefore attributes the Kaiser's journey to Holland to the pressure brought to bear upon him by Hindenburg and General Groener, and thinks the Kaiser's letter to the Crown Prince, in which he speaks of the collapse of the army, confirms this.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg took exception to this version of the events in question and issued the following note in the Berliner Allgemeine Zeitung on April 7:

The statement made in this memorandum is one-sided, tinged with prejudice, and by no means correct objectively. It contains very material errors and inaccuracies

in reference to the views and expressions of the personalities concerned, and it shows that the General was not sufficiently informed as to the actual situation.

Neither I nor the First General Quartermaster have any intention of entering into a newspaper polemic, which would be highly undesirable at present. The happenings of the Fall of 1918 are written down officially in the report of the Supreme Army Command. All the personalities in any way involved have drawn up original reports, so as to prevent the building up of legends later.

VON HINDENBURG.

Some German publicists assert that Count Schulenburg's memorandum was intended for only a small circle loyal to the former Kaiser, and that it inadvertently fell into the hands of the newspapers.

## The First of March in Alsace

Shortly before March 1, 1919, the *Nouveau Journal* of Strasbourg published an appeal to the French Government from the pen of Paul Bourson, which read as follows:

Let us make of the first of March a school holiday for our children in Alsace and Lorraine. Only six months ago Germany was making use of these unhappy little ones to spread throughout the terrorized provinces the news of imaginary German victories. How many times during the war were the teachers, men and women, compelled to assemble the children and to say to them, on the mere foundation of the German communiqués, "The glorious armies of the Emperor have just won a new and illustrious victory. To celebrate this great victory there will be no class held today"?

All this, it is true, is now past, and yet we are still under the impression of the recent nightmare. Let us make our children forget it. It would be fitting, M. le haut Commissaire, that the commemoration of the Protest of Bordeaux should be celebrated in our schools. A single word from you, and our children will receive that day an admirable lesson in history.

The suggestion was received favorably.

M. Maringer, the High Commissioner of the French Republic, decreed that on March 1 the teachers in the schools of Alsace and Lorraine should read the Protest of Bordeaux to the children, and that the afternoon of that day should be declared a holiday. The houses in Strasbourg were decorated with the Tricolor. The Protest was read in the schools and the liberation of Alsace and Lorraine attributed to the French poilus; the children cried "Long live France!" and sang the "Marseillaise." In the afternoon a large number of university students marched to the Cemetery Sainte-Hélène, and laid wreaths on the tomb of Küss, the last French Mayor of Strasbourg, who had not survived the cession of the town to the Germans in 1871. M. Coulet, rector of the university, made an address. Other addresses were made, one notably by Léon Bourgeois, the French statesman. The Alsatians will celebrate the first of March as a holiday every year. The day is officially designated the Day of Fidelity.



# Hungary Menaced on Three Sides

## Soviet Government at Budapest Hemmed In by Rumanian and Slavic Armies—Effects of Invasion

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

THE advance of the Rumanians on Hungary, and the success of their encircling movement in conjunction with the Jugoslavs and Czechoslovaks, determined the trend of events in Budapest and in Hungary generally throughout the month. The resistance of the Hungarian Soviet troops sent to the front was feeble and ineffectual; by April 26 the Rumanian Army had advanced nearly 100 miles from its starting point, and had covered nearly half the distance to Budapest; toward the end of the period covered in this article the encircling forces had drawn a comparatively close line around the capital, thus eliminating one of the greatest dangers of the situation, the threatened junction of the Russian and Hungarian Bolsheviks.

The immediate effect of the success of the advancing forces was a visible demoralization of morale in the Hungarian Soviet Army; a large number of the trained Szekler troops in Transylvania actually joined the Rumanians in their offensive movement on Budapest. The Soviet Government, to maintain its waning influence, resorted to extensive arrest of intellectual and so-called bourgeois elements; the workmen were mobilized and rallied to defend the proletariat Government against the "aggression of western capitalism." Beaten and hopeless, at last Bela Kun offered an armistice and then defiantly refused to fulfill its conditions, and the "red orgy" of May Day in Budapest, according to Bela Kun himself, symbolized the desperate resolve of the Hungarian Bolshevik régime to "go out in a blaze of glory."

Even before the Rumanian advance, the situation in Budapest, according to Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett and other correspondents, was one of terrorism and

increasing anarchy. One writer described the situation as follows:

The Soviet Government is feeling the ground giving way beneath it and is resorting to terror of the worst type to maintain its authority. Arrests of members of the old régime are being carried out on a wholesale scale and in a manner which bodes ill for those arrested.

The mood of official Hungary after the departure of General Smuts and his mission on April 5 was one of scarcely concealed exultation. The sending of General Smuts by the Peace Conference was interpreted as a sign of Soviet strength, and the Bolshevistic tendency of the Garbai-Bela Kun Government became more clearly revealed. Much vain-glorious talk was indulged in of the growing power of the Bolshevik idea throughout the world. This mood lasted until the leaders learned with consternation that a Rumanian army was advancing on Hungary through Transylvania.

### THE RUMANIAN ADVANCE

A statement issued by the Rumanian Bureau at Berne, reported from Geneva on April 24, declared that after a visit of General Franchet d'Esperey to Bucharest, Rumanian troops had been ordered again to take the offensive against Hungary, which had been suspended during the stay of General Smuts at Budapest. This order, it was stated, had aroused great enthusiasm, and a number of Saxon officers and troops from Transylvania had joined the Rumanian Army. Before April 20 the Hungarian Army had been put to rout at Szatmar Nemethy.

These events aroused consternation in Budapest. The Soviet Government made many new arrests, and members of the middle class were fleeing to escape this new terrorism; some of the intended victims committed suicide.



The Red Army showed demoralization. Wherever there was a difference of opinion, the Soldiers' Council ignored the Soviet. There were only about 7,000 reliable troops in the capital, who still maintained good discipline.

#### LABOR ARMY FORMED

Life and activity were injected into this atmosphere of repression and gloom by the announcement that the Central Committee of Soldiers, Workmen, and Peasants had passed a resolution to the effect that half of the workmen in the factories should be armed to defend the authority of the proletarian Government against the invaders, who, this announcement stated, had been "incited by the Western bourgeoisie against the Hungarian Soviet Republic." The resolutions were received enthusiastically by the populace, and large processions paraded through the city.

The Commissary of Education instructed the clergy to declare from pulpits during the next three Sundays that the Soviet Government guaranteed full religious freedom to all; that there would be no interference with the clergy or churches or other religious buildings, and that the Soviet would not change the present order of marriage and family life nor communize women.

A proclamation to the munition workers said that every factory must now work only for the front; there must be no holidays and no rest so long as "international profiteers are strangling the proletariat revolution."

All reserve officers and soldiers were ordered to join the Red Army immediately, only the wounded and invalids being exempted. All private telephone service in Budapest was completely suspended, and all cafés were closed at 10 o'clock in the morning until further notice.

These decisions were taken at a meeting held at the People's Opera House. Sigmund Kunff, Commissary of Education, in a speech declared that the Paris Peace Conference had been shaken owing to the tremendously superior forces with which the attack was being carried out. Kunff declared: "The proletariat must ruthlessly use all means at its disposal."

The origin of the warlike preparations in Budapest was explained by The Daily Mail's Vienna correspondent to be consternation caused in the Hungarian Cabinet by the reported agreement between the Rumanians and the Szeklers, a minor race living in the Transylvanian Alps. The Szeklers are related to the Magyars and include about 30,000 arms-bearing men. The Szeklers, said the correspondent, had taken a hostile attitude against the Communists, to whom, it seems, their opposition was coming to a head in the countryside, particularly in Debreczin.

#### CONDITIONS IN BUDAPEST

Dispatches of April 22 reported the stopping of all trains coming into Budapest and the adoption of a plan of general conscription, surcharging the atmosphere with uneasiness, as the conscription decree was regarded as certain to pave the way for great disorders. The earlier action of the Soviet Government in arresting members of the clergy had united the Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists in strong opposition. Only with the most clever manoeuvring had the labor unions been reconciled with the Soviet Government, for they fared better with the Socialists than with the Communists, and they were again growing restive.

A dispatch from Budapest dated April 22 said that Bela Kun, in his speech before the Soldiers' and Workmen's Council, admitted that the Rumanian offensive was temporarily successful.

Another dispatch from Budapest of the same date read:

The Socialist newspaper offices have been locked up by the Bolsheviks, who are attempting to overcome the modern Socialist opposition. The streets are alive with conscripts, who are being shipped off to the front in an attempt to withstand the encroachments of the Czechs and Rumanians. The Red Guard Army, on paper, is 30,000 strong, but in reality it aggregates about 10,000.

Nowhere in Hungary are the peasants accepting Communism. On the other hand, they are fighting the food requisitioning by the Red Guard.

Reports reaching Vienna on April 23 stated that a concentric advance toward Budapest had been begun by the Czecho-



slovaks on the north, the Yugoslavs on the south, and the Rumanians on the east. The badly armed and undisciplined Hungarian troops were unable to offer any strong resistance. The following day came the news that the Rumanian troops had continued their advance on the entire line between the Theiss and Maros Rivers, and were before Debreczen, 120 miles east of Budapest; they had then occupied Kis-Jeno, on the Maros River, and Mate-Szalka, northeast of Debreczen. South of Debreczen they were advancing on Nagy-Szalonta. On April 25 it was reported that part of the Hungarian Soviet army facing the Rumanians southeast of Budapest had surrendered and the rest were in flight. Northeast of Budapest the Czechoslovaks were within twenty miles of the capital.

The Rumanians, it was said, were acting solely with the object of stemming the tide of Bolshevism. No permanent occupation of territory was contemplated without the sanction of the Peace Conference. The spirit of the Rumanian Army was high, and the arrival of food, equipment, and stores was having a stimulating effect. The fact that the Communists were unable to prevent the Allies from occupying the districts taken by their advance was weakening the influence of Bela Kun and causing violent hatred of the Allies, to whom the Rumanian and other attacks were ascribed.

Extraordinary efforts were being made to send reinforcements to the front. Mobilized labor regiments were marching in the streets of Budapest. Eight regiments marched past the leaders, Garbai and Bela Kun, who addressed the troops. There were scenes of great enthusiasm as the workmen, armed with rifles but without uniforms, marched behind the red banner.

It was said that Bela Kun was acting in co-operation with Lenin, the Russian Premier, in the propagation of Bolshevik ideals by means of commandeered funds through Western Europe. Former members of the Parliament, among them the editor of the *Pester Lloyd*, Josef Vszi; the editor of the *Pester Hirlap*, Legradi; former Premier Count Ester-

hazy, and the poet, Franz Heroczy, had been arrested shortly before. Hundreds of intellectuals were similarly being arrested. One of the People's Commissaries intimated that they were to be held as hostages, and would "pay with their blood for every step the Rumanians take within the frontiers of Hungary."

Hungarian Communist forces, it was officially reported at the end of April, had withdrawn east of Karczag before superior Rumanian numbers, and the Rumanians were continuing their advance down the river valleys leading to Budapest upon the east; the French had occupied Hodomezó-Vasarhely, while the Czechs were attacking Czap with strong forces. The Hungarians had retired from Chara.

#### SOVIET OFFERS ARMISTICE

On May 1 it was stated from Budapest that the Communist Government had offered the Rumanian and Yugoslav Governments concessions and requested an immediate cessation of hostilities. In his notes sent to the Rumanian, Czechoslovak and Yugoslav Governments, Bela Kun said that his Government "recognizes unreservedly the territorial claims which you put forward." The Foreign Minister then demanded the immediate cessation of hostilities, non-interference with Hungarian internal affairs, and the reaching of economic agreements. On May 8 it appeared that in reply to this request for an armistice, the Rumanian Government had demanded the disarmament of the forces fighting against Rumania and her allies, the surrender of war material, and the return of prisoners and hostages, without reciprocity. It was added that, until these terms were complied with, Rumania would occupy the right bank of the Theiss River to a depth of twelve miles. This offer the Hungarian Government had refused.

Budapest meantime remained quiet, but there was a feeling of panic lest the Communists would engage in a massacre of the bourgeoisie before the advancing allies reached the city; entire families were fleeing; the last train for Austria had left shortly before May 2, crowded to the utmost with men, women, and children standing in all the cars, reach-



ing Kamorm in the evening. Immediately after the departure of the train, the Czechs crossed the Danube and cut off the possibility of any further trains leaving. On the following day it was reported that the Rumanians were advancing along the whole Hungarian front, and had captured 2,000 prisoners, including many Austrian and German soldiers; 150 carloads of war material had also been taken. A Hungarian, Colonel Kratoowill, was said to be commanding the forces fighting against the Hungarian Soviet army. Everywhere the Rumanians and allied forces were being welcomed as liberators.

It was stated on May 3 that the commanders of the Rumanian, Czech, and Serbian troops had decided not to occupy Budapest, but to confine their operations merely to an encirclement of the Hungarian capital. The closeness of this enveloping movement was made evident on May 8, when the Czechs, after a bitter and fluctuating struggle, gained a footing forty miles north of Budapest in the district of Neograd.

Announcement was made in the week ending May 10 that the allied troops moving on Budapest had been ordered by the Peace Conference to halt their advance. While the situation was thus brought to a state of comparative quiescence, it developed that allied representatives at Vienna had been directed to proceed to Budapest to transmit to Hungary an invitation from the Peace Conference to name delegates for the signing of the peace treaty at Paris. Up to May 12, the Hungarian Government, which seemed to have taken on a new

lease of life, had not accepted this invitation, but it was assumed in Paris that the Bela Kun régime would gladly take advantage of this means of establishing relations with the outside world, and the results of the Vienna-Budapest mission were confidently awaited.

#### MAY DAY IN BUDAPEST

May Day in Budapest to those who had remained in the city was an orgy of red. Thousands of red troops marched to red music through red-bannered streets. The sidewalks were crowded with men, women, and girls flaunting red ribbons. Street cars were red, automobiles were red, railway stations and lamp-posts were red. In squares and on street corners were huge red wooden stands on which were emblazoned the statement, "This is the day of freedom and world brotherhood." There also were numerous immense plaster casts of Lenin and Karl Marx, some of them twenty feet high.

The red celebration continued all day and all night, and red electric lights added to the crimson hue after darkness fell. There were fiery speeches in different parts of the city by Bela Kun and other leaders of the Soviets. The total cost of this effort to make a red-letter day for Hungarian Communism was 12,000,000 marks, taken from the banks of the country.

Bela Kun declared that the people could at least remember forever what had been tried, and he said privately that no matter if Communism failed it could be said that it went out in a blaze of glory.

## German Austria Rejects Bolshevism

### Outbreak in Vienna Suppressed

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

THE tendency of German Austria (noted in CURRENT HISTORY for April) away from Bolshevism was evidenced again during outbreaks in Vienna on April 17 manipulated by Bolshevik agitators. These outbreaks were put down by the Government at

the cost of a number of wounded on both sides. They occurred before the Parliament Building and were totally unsuccessful; the city was guarded by the Volkswehr, still loyal to the Government, and the excited harangues of the agitators, who returned repeatedly to the



scene, met with a cool reception from the population. One of the reasons for this averseness of the German Austrians to the excitations of the Communists was the wholly practical one that the Allies alone could furnish the food to keep the people from starving. Vienna was the hungriest of the European capitals, and Chancellor Karl Renner's appeal to the Communists to cease their agitation on the ground that Austria's only hope lay in the continuance of allied supplies fell on understanding ears.

#### PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

The Cabinet appointed by the Austrian Constituent Assembly on March 15 to take charge of Governmental affairs until a definite German Austrian State was established, or until the country was incorporated in a federated German republic, was made up as follows:

- Dr. Karl Renner—Chancellor.
- Jodok Fink—Vice Chancellor.
- Otto Glöckel—Under State Secretary or Education.
- Wilhelm Miklas—Under State Secretary of Worship.
- Richard von Bratusch—State Secretary of Justice.
- Dr. Josef Schumpeter—State Secretary of Finance.
- Josef Stöckler—State Secretary of Agriculture and Forestry.
- Engineer Johann Zerdik—State Secretary of Trade, Industry, and Construction.
- Dr. Wilhelm Ellenbogen—Under Secretary of Trade, Industry, and Construction.
- Ferdinand Hanusch—State Secretary of Social Administration.
- Otto Bauer—State Secretary of Foreign Affairs.
- Dr. Julius Deutsch—State Secretary of Military Affairs.
- Dr. Erwin Weiss—Under State Secretary of Military Affairs.
- Dr. Lowenfeld-Russ—State Secretary of Food Administration.
- Ludwig Paul—State Secretary of Transportation.

The importance of a stable régime was shown as early as April 13, when it was announced that the British military representative in Vienna, Colonel Cunningham, had notified Dr. Otto Bauer, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, that the British Government, in the event of disorders occurring in German Austria, would immediately cease sending food and raw

materials. Dr. Bauer was told that the reason for this projected action was the importance to the Allies of having undisturbed communications through German Austria with friendly and allied new States.

#### BOLSHEVIST OUTBREAK

In spite of this warning a Bolshevik outbreak occurred in Vienna on April 17. The main facts were as follows:

A mob of unemployed held a mass meeting before the Parliament Building and speakers made violent addresses, inciting the multitude to demand ample daily support by the State. Chancellor Renner promised to consider the demands the following week. The mob was dissatisfied, however, and continued the disorders. Some began shooting at the police, who were unable to cope with them, and numerous dead and wounded were reported. The Parliament group of buildings was set on fire in several places, especially the House of Lords, but the fire was extinguished. The police were replaced by the People's Guard, which restored order. Performances in all the theatres were suspended.

For several hours later that section of the city was the scene of considerable fighting. Soldiers charged here and there, and numerous persons were wounded, ambulances and automobiles carrying them away. The casualties among the police were five killed and forty wounded; twenty demonstrators and bystanders were wounded.

Just before dark speeches were delivered at the foot of the Pallas Statue. Throughout the evening crowds of curious persons visited the spot and listened to speeches by agitators, who for the most part were unable to speak German correctly. These agitators worked in pairs, engaging in discussions with each other, in order to attract an audience, after which they harangued against the Socialists, who, they declared, were working hand in hand with the Allies and endeavoring to enslave Austrians.

#### SERVICES OF VOLKSWEHR

The policing of Vienna was taken over by the Volkswehr. On April 18 the Parliament Building was occupied by two



battalions of soldiers, after representatives of the Soldiers' Council had placed 5,000 men at the Government's disposal, under Colonel Stoessel Wimmer. Colonel Cunningham, the British military representative, issued a proclamation in the name of the Allies, declaring that if there were any further disturbances the food supply would be cut off. A statement issued by Chancellor Renner after the outbreak said:

Vienna is safe from Bolshevism. The situation is well in hand, thanks to the reliable soldiers of the Volkswehr. The whole trouble was caused by a lot of unruly young men who interfered with the consultations of deputations of workmen and invalided soldiers at the Parliament Building. Several policemen were killed and many were wounded, but the police controlled the trouble from the beginning.

Another official statement was made by the War Secretary, Dr. Julius Deutsch, who, addressing the Volkswehr, said that the only hope for German Austria lay in the compassion of the Entente. Any thought of a communistic republic, he declared, was madness, as it would mean immediate occupation by Entente troops. It was hopeless, he said, to think of resistance, or of help from Hungary, which could at most send only one food train a day, while the Entente was already sending twelve, and if these stopped the whole city must starve to death. By April 21 most of the Hungarian agitators in Vienna had been arrested, and the arrest of the Austrian agitators had begun. The Austrian Government had requested the Hungarian Government to withdraw its Minister from Vienna. Bela Kun, the Hungarian Premier, in a telegram to the Austrian Government denied complicity in the outbreak.

So the Bolshevik outbreak was put down, and the Constitutional Government remained in power. Food conditions remained bad, and yet the general mood, according to advices on April 26, was cheerful; shops were open and crowded with customers; the streets were filled with droschken and taxicabs, which seemed to have no difficulty in finding customers; and even the theatres had their usual audiences. It was said, however, that the city's main defense, the Volkswehr, was daily becoming reduced

by desertions of soldiers across the frontier to join the "proletarians" in Hungary. On April 29 it was stated that communistic activity in Vienna was continuing.

#### NO UNION WITH GERMANY

Chancellor Renner, in accepting the nomination as a peace delegate to go to St. Germain, said in the Austrian Parliament on May 9 that he relinquished all hopes for a union with Germany. His speech was made while the impression caused by the Allies' terms to Germany was still strong. The feeling in the Chamber was, according to one speaker, that "it would be madness to unite with a nation subject to such measures."

"The Austrian people must suffer for the misdeeds of their rulers," the Chancellor said. "We never wanted the war, and we were not guilty of bringing it about. I will do my best to secure better terms for ourselves."

The address was delivered within a stone's throw of the Foreign Office in the Ballplatz, where the first machinery of the war had been set in motion nearly five years before, and moved many of the Chancellor's hearers to tears. A few Socialists demanded that no delegates be sent, but there was no attempt at revolt or Bolshevism. A heated discussion followed.

Former Emperor Charles of Austria-Hungary, whose flight to Switzerland was described in a previous issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, had found Wartegg Castle on the shores of Lake Constance too small for himself and his twenty-two attendants, it was reported from Geneva on April 28, and had rented for eight months a house on the banks of Lake Geneva at Prangins, near Nyon, once the residence of Prince Jérôme Napoléon. A different explanation was given from Berne on May 1, which said that the Swiss Government had insisted on the ex-Emperor's removal as far as possible from the Austrian frontier; so many ex-sovereigns, Archdukes, and former politicians from Germany, Austria, Hungary, and other countries were crowding into Switzerland that it was feared that the country would become a hotbed of monarchistic plotting.



# Poland and Other New States

## Recognition of Finland by the Allies

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

THE military situation in Poland on the Lemberg front was announced on April 1 to be unchanged. The Ukrainians continued to bombard the city with guns of large calibre, causing casualties and damage to property. By May 5, however, the situation had greatly improved for the Poles; they had driven back the Ukrainians so far that Lemberg was no longer in danger from shells. An Associated Press dispatch shortly before stated that the Ukrainians had decided to make peace with the Poles, and that a Polish delegation was on its way to Paris to begin negotiations regarding an armistice between the Ukraine and Poland; this delegation was headed by Michael Lodynsky, and represented the first official mission which the Ukraine had sent to Paris.

The Poles displayed considerable military activity toward the end of April in Lithuania. Heavy blows directed against the Bolsheviki resulted in the recapture of Vilna from the Soviet forces. The Bolsheviki fought hard but vainly to retake the town. In addition to taking Vilna itself, the Polish troops had captured important railway centres, and the whole railway line from Vilna south to Lida was in the hands of the Poles by April 22.

The inroad of the Poles into Lithuania and their capture of Vilna provoked strong protests on the part of the Lithuanian Government, (see Page 479,) but by May 12 it appeared that subsequent to the city's capture and the issuance of a proclamation by General Pilsudski, head of the Polish State, the relations between the Lithuanians and Poles had assumed a more favorable aspect: the Lithuanian Government, which had its seat at Kovno, with M. Slezevicius at its head, had sent a mission to Warsaw, presided over by Dr. Saulis, to adjust the matters in dispute.

The first contingent of General Haller's Polish troops started on their home-

ward way from the French front across Germany on April 16, accompanied by an officer detailed by the United States Army, and British, French, and Italian officers, to act as liaison officials between the German and Polish troops. The trains conveying these Polish troops reached Treves on April 16. All six divisions were to be transported across the Rhine at various points; it was estimated that sixty days would be required for the whole force to pass through the occupied area.

Hugh Gibson of the American Embassy in Paris was appointed as the first United States Minister to the new Polish Nation. His approaching departure from Paris in the company of M. Paderewski was announced on April 15. The presentation of Mr. Gibson to the President of Poland was to represent a formal recognition of the new republic.

### POLISH TERRITORY INCREASED

According to the terms of the peace treaty, Prussia must cede to Poland some 27,686 square miles of territory. In the official summary of the treaty the ceded territory is described as "the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia." The free City of Danzig, moreover, with some 700 square miles of territory, is to take in the small delta between the Vistula and Nogat Rivers, where the Polish population is small, as well as some land to the west of the Vistula, where the Poles are considerably more numerous. In essence, however, this territory will be a part of Poland, with a considerable degree of home rule. The territory running back from the coast just to the west of Danzig as far as the western boundary of the Province of West Prussia is to go to Poland.

This cession of former German territory to the Poles created great excitement among the German residents of the region affected, including various towns



and cities in Upper Silesia. A telegram of May 12 stated that all classes and parties of the German element, including even the Independent Socialists, were uniting to demonstrate by mass meetings and processions against annexation to Poland. They demanded arms from the German Government "for defense against those who would make them Polish." Polish circles, though pleased with the treaty, remained quiet and there seemed to be no danger of a violent clash, though the Germans threatened to act for themselves if the German Government should sign the treaty. Two great mass meetings in the open air took place on May 11 at Oppeln. Many miners' associations took part, carrying black, white, and red flags and singing German songs. The Berlin Government received thousands of telegrams from Silesia and many more from all over the country urging rejection of the treaty.

#### EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

The first American Ambassador to the newly created republic of Czechoslovakia was announced from Washington on April 18: Richard Crane, Private Secretary to Secretary Lansing since 1915, had been selected to fill this office.

Advices from Prague on April 24 and May 4 showed that food conditions were tending to become normal. Strikes, though fairly frequent, were not of a political character. The general tendency of the population was anti-Bolshevistic. The new republic had already made considerable progress along various lines; its army had become one of the best in Central Europe. Barely 30,000 Germans remained in the Czech capital, and German speech had already disappeared from the streets. A land reform law had been passed providing for the expropriation of all estates larger than 150 hectares, but estates including woodland might run up to 250 hectares. The law as passed amounted to little more than a project. An interesting sidelight on the political situation was revealed in the fact that the Jews had constituted them-

selves a party with the approval of the Government, and were running a list of candidates of their own in all the communities. It was said that this formation of a self-conscious Jewish party would tend to diminish the German vote in Czechoslovakia.

The feeling of the 3,000,000 Germans in Bohemia was said to be extremely bitter. They complained that they were treated by the Czechs as a conquered population.

#### RECOGNITION OF FINLAND

The news that Great Britain had recognized Finland as a new and independent republic came from London on May 6 by way of an official announcement in the House of Commons. In Paris, on May 7, Secretary Lansing announced that the United States had recognized the *de facto* Government of Finland.

Thus the two years of Finland's tribulation between the Russian Bolsheviks and the German armies had ended auspiciously. To free herself from the one, the Finns had called in the other, and the severity of the German rule, seconded by the pro-German *Svinhufvud*, had given her cause to regret her turning toward the Germans. Germany's sudden collapse restored her liberty. Proof that Finland has made great progress in setting up a democratic and representative Government was found in the statement of Secretary Lansing. The Finnish Ambassador to the United States, Armas Saastaminden, on his arrival from Helsingfors, when he was informed of the recognition of his Government, said:

"It is the greatest thing that has ever befallen the people of Finland. It places our Government on firm ground. The Finnish people will be eternally grateful to America for the shipment of 60,000 tons of wheat and other food when they were in need. Bolshevism has been entirely eliminated from Finland, and for more than a year the situation has been quite satisfactory externally and internally."



# Danzig: The City of Eventful History

## A Sketch of Its Past

THE action of the Peace Conference in internationalizing Danzig was recorded in the preceding issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. It was stated unofficially on April 8, 1919, that the arguments in favor of giving Danzig to Poland and those in favor of giving Danzig to Germany had been so evenly balanced that a compromise was adopted, and that the coveted seaport was to be declared an international city, belonging to neither party, but free to both.

The considerations that governed the decision of the Peace Conference were mainly statistical. Danzig itself was 95 per cent. German; the strip of semi-Polish territory extending a little to the west of Danzig to the sea was nowhere more than 60 to 80 per cent. Polish, and the greater part of it was only 40 to 60 per cent. Polish, that is, roughly, half and half. The final settlement embodied the defining of a neutral territory beginning west of Danzig along the Vistula River; East Prussia was to be demilitarized, and the Germans were to have free access to this territory across the Polish "corridor"; both Germans and Poles, moreover, were to have free use of the harbor. It was said that this was a compromise arrangement, which pleased neither Germany nor Poland, nor any other nation in Europe.

On April 24, however, a dispatch from Paris indicated that reconsideration of Polish aspirations and claims relative to Danzig had resulted in a decision which went considerably further toward satisfying Polish demands regarding the future status of the city. The "free city of Danzig" was to be created, not as a neutralized State, but virtually as an autonomous republic within the Polish State, contained within the Polish Customs Union, and represented in international relations by Polish diplomats. Its citizens were to be entitled to diplomatic privileges held by the citizens of Poland, and free use of the Danzig wharves and docks and other transportation facilities

were to be guaranteed to Poland, which also was to have control and administration of the Vistula water route and freedom to pass not only along the Polish corridor, but also through German territory, if necessary. Polish control, however, was not to extend to the internal affairs of the city, over which the residents were to enjoy complete local autonomy. The independence of Danzig under these conditions was to be guaranteed by the League of Nations, which was to appoint a High Commissioner to arrange the necessary treaties with Germany and Poland and to assist the municipal representatives in drafting a Constitution. Freedom of passage across the Polish corridor to East Prussia was confirmed to Germany.

Thus, again, in her long and eventful history, Danzig is destined to become an independent and autonomous city, free, and yet economically and internationally bound with Poland. If neither the Germans nor the Poles are satisfied, the latter at last, after centuries of waiting, have acquired a part of their national aspiration.

The discovery of Roman coins in Danzig has proved that it was a trading station in the days of the Roman Empire; but its first mention in any records is in 997, when Archbishop Adalbert, the apostle of the Prussians, mentions it as a town under its Polish name of Gdansk. A town in the true modern sense, however, it only became in the thirteenth century, when the Dukes of Pomerelia made it their capital, and, following the example of other Slav rulers, encouraged German merchants to trade and settle there.

When the line of the Pomerelian Dukes died out, war broke out between the King of Poland and the Margrave of Brandenburg as to the succession, and the Knights of the Teutonic Order, who ruled in what is now East Prussia, took advantage of this to seize Danzig in 1310. Though subject to the order, the city continued to develop a virtually inde-



pendent existence and to grow in wealth and splendor. In 1360 it joined the Hanseatic League, of which it became one of the four leading cities, and it took a vigorous part in the wars of the league against the northern powers and against the pirates who infested the Baltic.

When in 1455 the gentry of West Prussia rose in insurrection against the tyranny of the corrupt Teutonic Order, the City of Danzig, whose interests were damaged by the competition of the Knights as traders, joined the movement. The insurgents appealed successfully to the King of Poland for help; the war ended in 1466 with the defeat of the Order, and, by the Treaty of Thorn, West Prussia and Danzig were ceded to the Polish Kingdom.

#### UNDER POLISH RULE

The part played by Danzig in the war was rewarded by exceptional privileges, which gave the city virtual independence and even sovereign rights over a considerable area. It was thus possible for Danzig to develop its power and wealth unhampered by those influences which elsewhere in Poland were tending to depress the cities. Danzig was still further cut off from the life of Poland in the sixteenth century by the fact that its citizens accepted the reformation. The originally tolerant policy of the Polish Kings at first conceded to them the right of religious liberty; and when, in 1577, under the influence of the counter-reformation, King Stephen Bathory tried to deprive them of this right, they offered a successful armed resistance.

It was during the closing years of the sixteenth century that Danzig reached the height of its prosperity, and the chief architectural glories of the city date from this period. But with the seventeenth century came a rapid decline. The endless wars which raged in Northern Europe, and the rapid decay and disintegration of the anarchic Polish Republic, had depressed the prosperity of the city even before the crowning blow of the great plague of 1709, which slew 24,500 of its people.

Then came the war of Polish succession and the disastrous siege of 1734, followed by ruinous indemnities levied on the surrendered town by the Russian Marshal Münnich.

#### PARTITIONS OF POLAND

Danzig, in fact, was already a place decayed and moribund when, in 1772, the first partition of Poland gave the finishing stroke. By the terms of the treaty, indeed, the city was to remain free; but the surrounding lands as far as Thorn, the harbor, and the Vistula were assigned to Prussia. When the second partition of Poland took place, in 1793, the wretched King Stanislas Poniatowski had to inform the Danzigers that Prussia had demanded their cession, and that he could do nothing for them. The city, which had so often fought valiantly for its liberties, was now in no condition to resist; and on April 23, 1793, the Prussians marched in unopposed.

Under Prussian rule the prosperity of the city revived; but the Napoleonic wars brought fresh trouble, and from March to May, 1807, it had to stand a siege and bombardment, which ended in its surrender to Marshal Lefebvre. By the Treaty of Tilsit, of the same year, Danzig was again erected into a free town; but its territory was very limited, and, as it had to suffer a French Governor and a French garrison, it was virtually no more than an outpost of Napoleon's empire, and its main function that of assisting in enforcing his Continental system.

After the disastrous Russian campaign of 1812 Danzig was one of the last rallying points of the French troops and their Polish allies. In January, 1813, a large Russian force laid siege to the fortress, and, after a long and gallant defense, the French General Rapp found himself forced to surrender. On Feb. 3, 1814, Danzig once more passed under Prussian sovereignty.

The eventful history of this famous city was regarded by Poland's friends as furnishing enough historical precedent for the city's retransfer to Poland.



# Declining Power of the Russian Reds

## Allied and Constitutional Forces Gradually Closing in Upon the Lenin-Trotsky Strongholds

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

THE chronicle of military operations in Russia given in last month's issue of CURRENT HISTORY showed important successes gained by the Bolshevik armies. The succeeding month brought a considerable dimming of the Bolshevik war fortunes. Offensives long and carefully prepared against allied and American forces in the north were repulsed with heavy loss; the much-contested town of Bolshie Ozerki was captured by the allied forces, with large quantities of munitions and many prisoners; the Karelian town of Olonetz revolted against the Bolsheviks, and was captured by a Finnish contingent. On the eastern frontier progress was made toward permanent communication with the Siberian forces of Admiral Kolchak, which drove the Bolsheviks from Viatka and inflicted defeats on the Soviet forces on the two branches of the Trans-Siberian Railway; Samara and the Volga Valley were threatened by the steady advance of the Omsk forces. In the south Kiev fell to the Ukrainians, and the Bolsheviks were cut off by the troops of the Ukrainian peasant-leader, Simon Petliura.

Combined with all these military defeats, which drew an ever-contracting circle about the Soviet armies, came news from many sources of the inner chaos of the Soviet Government; of strikes, revolts, repressions with iron hand, famine, and the desertion of thousands of Soviet soldiers. The whole trend of external politics indicated that the growing power of the Omsk Government might eventually lead to its recognition by the allied Governments as the only strong and orderly power in Russia.

On April 13 a report was sent by Brig. Gen. Wilds P. Richardson, who had re-

cently arrived in Russia, to General Pershing, in which he reported the military situation in the Murmansk sector as satisfactory. Only a few days later came news of a Bolshevik ten-mile retreat on that front. By April 19 Russian troops operating on the Murmansk Railway south of Kem had gained complete control of Lake Vigosero and the main road north to the White Sea. By April 30 the Bolsheviks under allied pressure had been forced to withdraw to a position thirty miles west of Petrozavodsk, on the western bank of Lake Onega. Barely a week later (May 6) the allied troops, advancing southward along the Murmansk Railway, captured Mesalskaya, a town on the Murmansk road, from a Bolshevik force of 300 with three armored trains; the allied losses were slight. On May 9 the advance of two allied columns was reported respectively west and east of the railroad along Lake Sego and Lake Onega.

Meanwhile a new development occurred in dangerous proximity to Petrograd. The inhabitants of Olonetz, 110 miles northeast of the Russian capital, according to advices of April 27 had revolted against the Bolsheviks. Olonetz is situated between Lake Onega and Lake Ladoga, near the Murmansk Railway, which runs along the western shore of Lake Onega. Next came the news that a Finnish contingent had crossed the Finnish frontier and taken Olonetz. On May 5 this Finnish military movement, which threatened Petrograd, became well defined. General Udenitch, with 4,000 Russian troops, augmented by a large number of Russian peasants weary of Bolshevik requisitions, had occupied Petrozavodsk and Ladoinoe, east of Lake Ladoga, thus gaining control of



the southern end of the Kola Railway and cutting off the Bolsheviks in the Kola Peninsula and on the Murmansk Coast.

Karelians form the greater part of the population in the Olonetz district, and fine roads connect it with Finland, whereas communication with Russia proper is not so good. In February the Karelians of the Kem, Urozero and Povenietz districts held a secret meeting and expressed the desire that Karelia should be declared an independent State.

#### THE ARCHANGEL FRONT

Small clashes continued as usual between the Bolsheviks and the allied forces in different sectors of the northern front. A Bolshevik garrison of sixty men was annihilated south of Seletskoe on the Archangel front about April 15 by a detachment of the Russian National Army.

General Wilds P. Richardson, who was sent to Northern Russia with an American railway detachment and became the ranking American officer on that front, reached Archangel on April 17. One of his first official acts was to make public to the American troops a telegram from General Pershing calling upon them to maintain their morale. A military victory of some importance was the driving of the Bolsheviks from the village of Bolshie Ozerki, rendered untenable by the allied fire. The Communist officers were keeping their unwilling soldiers on the defense by placing numerous machine guns in their rear. Announcement was made on April 18 that Russian and British forces had occupied Bolshie Ozerki, and were pursuing the Bolsheviks as they fled southward in icy slush toward the enemy base on the Vologda Railway at Plesetskaya. This reoccupation of Bolshie Ozerki, after months of fighting, restored the second line of communication between Obozerskaya, on the Vologda Railway, and Onega, to the northwest. Many prisoners were taken, with quantities of munitions and supplies.

Bolshevik reinforcements arrived about April 26 on the northern front in preparation for a new offensive against the American and allied troops; these

troops, however, were hurriedly withdrawn and rushed to Viatka, on the railway from Vologda to Perm, to stem the advance of the northern wing of the Siberian forces.

#### DVINA-VAGA ATTACKS

Toward the end of April Bolshevik attacks were made on allied-American forces on the Dvina and Vaga Rivers, in which the Soviet forces suffered severe defeats. The Bolsheviks had prepared for these attacks for weeks, utilizing light-draft monitors to support their offensive on the Dvina, while the futile attack on the Vaga was scheduled to come at the same time. With the assistance of aircraft, General Ironsides, the allied-American Commander in Chief, kept in touch with these preparations. The Bolshevik flotilla on the Vaga was reported on April 30 to have reached a point about half way between Kotlas and the allied positions south of Bereznik. Three separate attacks were repulsed by the allied land batteries, and the Bolsheviks were compelled to withdraw.

Preparations were made to rush an allied flotilla southward as soon as the ice cleared near Archangel. The vanguard of this fleet reached the fighting front near the junction of the Dvina and Vaga Rivers on May 4. The gunboats had to push their way slowly upstream through ice-filled waters. Weak attacks by the Bolshevik fleet on the Dvina near Tulgas were repulsed by the allied land batteries. Meanwhile the allied positions on the Vaga, at Malo Bereznik, were bombarded by the Bolshevik field guns from a range of thirty miles.

#### THE PETCHORA SECTOR

According to reports by the Russian General Staff of April 24, important progress was made in the Petchora district toward the opening of a line of communication in the Summer between the Archangel forces and their Siberian allies to the east. Though regular communication was at that time impracticable because of the condition of the roads and the frozen harbors, the Archangel forces had made important advances which were destined to assure sea and river transportation with Admiral Kolchak's army



as soon as navigation opened in the arctic region. A Russian force under General Shapshnikoff had occupied Ust Uchta at the junction of the Rivers Ishna and Uchta, and the Bolsheviks were reported to be retreating rapidly before this advance. The Bolsheviks also had abandoned their fronts on the Rivers Vashka and Mezen. In the retreat they took with them peasants from 18 to 45 years of age and all their live stock.

#### THE EASTERN FRONT

All the indications of the month pointed to the strengthening of the Siberian Government under Admiral Kolchak. On April 1 Kolchak sent a message to the American people in which he stated that his object was to free Russia from the Bolshevik lash, and then proceed to reconstruction. He said further: "As my main task I set the establishment of an army with fighting capacity, victory over the Bolsheviks, and the establishment of law and order." The Siberian armies were continuously successful. Sterlitmak was taken April 5. On April 9 the Siberians were within ten miles of Votkinsk. On April 24 Orenburg was being hastily evacuated by the Bolsheviks. Bolshevik deserters and peasants were joining the Siberian ranks. On April 28 the Kolchak troops advanced along the southern branch of the Trans-Siberian Railroad, in Eastern European Russia, to Kinel, only forty miles east of Samara. A slower advance was being made along the northern branch of the Trans-Siberian, where the anti-Bolshevik forces took Glazov, east of Viatka. A third column was moving westward midway between these two forces, and had reached Sarapul, on the Kama River; Simbirsk was apparently the destination of the central column.

Meanwhile, it was reported on April 23 that Ural Cossack troops, apparently acting in conjunction with the Siberian forces, had begun an offensive in the region of Uralsk, Southeastern Russia, south of Samara, and had captured several villages west of Uralsk. Thirty-five miles to the southwest fighting was taking place between the Cossacks and the Bolsheviks for the possession of the fortress of Shevorkin. Uralsk is the

terminus of the railway line running east from Saratov, on the Volga, and is about 260 miles southwest of Sterlitmak, where the Kolchak forces were reported to be advancing southward on Orenburg.

Only a few days previous (April 18) it was stated that the Soviet army was retreating along the entire eastern front; in the regions north of Perm and south of Samara many peasant uprisings against the Bolsheviks were taking place as a result of the Kolchak victories. One Bolshevik regiment in Samara revolted and refused to go to the front. Uprisings were going on in various parts of the Bolshevik territory, including Kazan; the Bolsheviks were sending large detachments of their army to put these down.

#### KOLCHAK'S SUCCESSES

A dispatch from Omsk to the Russian Information Bureau in New York said:

Our offensive in the direction of Kazan progresses splendidly. At the capture of Sarapul we took 25,000 prisoners, 2,000 rifles, 200 railroad cars, 26 big guns, an armored train, and a great quantity of ammunition.

In the Simbirsk region Admiral Kolchak's forces at the end of April were in active pursuit of the Bolsheviks and had occupied a number of places west of Shentala. South of the Kazan-Ekaterinburg railway the Communists were retreating, closely pursued by the Siberians, who captured several towns and considerable war material, and Chistopol, on the Kama, had been taken, with steamships, guns, and large supplies of ammunition. A dispatch of May 1 stated that since the capture of Chistopol the Siberians had been advancing at an average rate of seven miles a day, and had reached the Shenala River; the enemy's resistance had been broken in the Bugulma-Bogoroslans area, (Samara district,) and a similar rate of advance was being maintained in that region; five rifle regiments of the enemy had capitulated on this Samara front, and a pronounced impairment of morale was reported in the ranks of the Red Army.

A representative of the United States Food Administration just returned from Siberia reported in Washington on April



20 that the Omsk Government had made remarkable headway in restoring law and order. A cable of some length from Omsk showed favorable financial progress. It was unofficially announced that the various Governments represented at the Peace Conference had determined to recognize the Kolchak Government simultaneously after the signing of peace. It was further stated on April 23 that Japan, whose Liberal Party had triumphed over the Military Party, had decided to join her other allies in such recognition. The Archangel Provisional Government on May 9 recognized the supreme authority of Kolchak. It was announced from Washington on May 12 that the American and allied Governments had decided to lend the Interallied Commission administering the Trans-Siberian Railroad the sum of \$20,000,000 for operation purposes.

It was reported from Vladivostok on May 4 that an attempt had been made on the life of General Horvath, Russian Military Commander at Harbin. The assailant attacked him with bombs, but was seized before he had carried out his purpose.

#### FIGHTING ALONG THE BALTIC

A new element was injected into the situation in Lithuania—where the Letts for some weeks had been making progress against the Bolsheviks—by an irruption of German and German-Baltic troops, who, under the guise of suppressing the Bolsheviks, seized Libau and overthrew the Lettish Provisional Government on April 16. Lettish reserve troops in Libau were surprised by strong German forces, which overpowered, disarmed, and interned them. Later the Germans arrested the Lettish Minister of the Interior and several other officials. The city, at the date mentioned, was held and patrolled by German troops. Premier Ullman protested to General von der Goltz, German commander in Letvia. The Letts accused the Germans of constantly hindering them from mobilizing against the Bolsheviks, which, it was declared, accounted for the fact that Riga was still in the hands of the Soviet forces.

Ever since the evacuation of Riga and other important cities of Lettish Russia by the German troops last January, in the face of the advancing Bolshevik armies, reports have continued to emanate from German and Scandinavian sources telling how the German forces were being re-formed and were gradually winning back the lost ground in connection with the anti-Bolshevist Letts. As early as March 13 the various factions of the Lettish Social Democracy protested formally from Berne against the renewed German invasion of Lettland "under the pretext of fighting Bolshevism," in accordance with "a conspiracy of German-Baltic barons for the purpose of establishing a Balto-Prussian monarchy" discovered in Libau, the city taken by the German coup.

On May 2 advices stated that the British had protested against the overthrow of the Lettish Provisional Government at Libau, and demanded that the situation there be re-established. This protest provoked a haughty reply from the German Government, which asserted that the revolt in Libau was the work of Letts.

The *Zwölf Uhr Blatt* of Berlin, however, declared that the affair resulted from Pan-German intrigue and was the work of German barons in the Baltic provinces and their agents. The paper said that the money for the maintenance of the German troops at Libau and several other points in the east was supplied by the barons. It concluded:

It is surprising to see at a time when Germany manifests her desire for peace and wishes to prove that she has given up her former policy of intrigue that the game that led to her ruin is being kept up.

#### ATROCITIES IN RIGA

In Riga, meanwhile, according to Stockholm dispatches of April 17, the Bolsheviks were carrying out a rapid and systematic annihilation of all the bourgeois elements. The victims of the Bolshevik terror were taken to the island of Hasen, in the Dvina River, and were said to number 70,000, including women and children. No one was permitted to take food or money to the island. A dispatch



of the same date said that masses of fugitives were fleeing to Finland to escape brutal treatment by the increasing Bolshevik forces. Red Guards had crossed the Finnish frontier, plundering and burning.

Interpellations in the Finnish Diet brought a denial that Finland intended to intervene in Russia; news of the crossing of the Russian frontier, however, by a Finnish voluntary corps, north of Ladoga, for the purpose of safeguarding Finland's interests in Karelia, reached Stockholm from Helsingfors about this time.

In Courland, according to a Soviet official dispatch of April 17, the Bolshevik forces had been successful, driving the Letts southward to within four miles of Mitau. About two weeks later (April 29) it was announced that Polish forces had driven the Bolsheviks from Vilna (Lithuania) and were marching on Minsk. The Polish Diet made the declaration that Polish military activity in Lithuania was not for annexation purposes, but to protect the inhabitants against invasion.

#### THE SOUTHERN FRONT

Early in April the allied troops were driven back in the Crimea when the Bolshevik forces captured Perekop. The isthmus of Perekop had been fortified by the Allies for the protection of the Russian naval base at Sebastopol, but the Allies were greatly outnumbered, and were continuously pressed back.

Russian Soviet troops, it was reported on April 15, after heavy fighting, compelled the Rumanians to begin a general retreat into Bessarabia from the line of Kamenetz-Mohilov along the Dniester in Podolia. Further north, in Western Ukraine, the message added, the troops of General Petliura had been driven back.

Russian wireless advices on April 17 reported the Soviet forces advancing in the direction of Simferopol, the capital of Crimea. The Soviet Government, moreover, announced that by the capture of Volochysk, in Galicia, the Ukrainian front there had been cut in two. The Ukrainians were retreating south of

Sarny, abandoning large numbers of prisoners and wounded.

The situation, however, soon began to take on a more favorable aspect for the Ukrainians. Petliura's forces on April 19 retook Zhitomir and Proskurov, and were reinforced by the adhesion of 10,000 Bolshevik troops, particularly those originating in East Ukraine. Petliura's plan of cutting behind the Bolsheviks on their way into Bessarabia was succeeding. The Ukrainian peasant leader brought about the disaffection of the Bolshevik soldiers, partly by fighting and partly by persuasion, a result which the Reds facilitated by the execution of 600 peasants during their occupation of Zhitomir. Petliura had been heartened by recent visits of American, French, and Italian missions at Stanislaw. Through The Associated Press he made an appeal for medical and sanitary aid from the American Red Cross.

#### IMPORTANT UKRAINIAN VICTORIES

The Bolshevik First Army, it was reported on April 20, operating in the region of Homel, (also called Gnome, about 150 miles east of Kiev,) along the Pripet River, had surrendered to the Ukrainians, and 20,000 rifles, 35 guns, and 200 machine guns had been handed over to the Ukrainians, to whom some 30,000 Bolshevik soldiers had deserted. On April 23 Kiev had been recaptured from the Bolsheviks by revolutionary Ukrainian partisans of Petliura, an important success interpreted as signifying the ebb of Bolshevik strength in South-western Russia.

The Ukrainian Commander in Chief followed a plan drawn up by his Chief of Staff, Colonel Melnik, a Galician artillery officer of much experience in the Austrian Army. By degrees he worked from Rovno to Irpin, fifteen miles northwest of Kiev, and began cutting off the provisions for the latter city. The whole country soon became untenable for the Bolsheviks, who had been weakened by their Odessa and Bessarabian adventures.

In Odessa, according to advices of April 13, there had been no disorder since the city's evacuation by allied and Greek forces. The retiring troops, who



withdrew under Bolshevik pressure, had fallen back to a line running along the Dniester River northward from Akerman. Eight thousand Greek residents of Odessa had been safely embarked on ships for Greece.

The naval port of Sebastopol, up to April 21, had not been occupied by Russian Soviet troops. A wireless dispatch received in London shortly previous had announced that Sebastopol had been evacuated by the Crimean Government, and the Government of Sebastopol was in the hands of a revolutionary committee. Meantime the Bolshevik advance was slackening in the face of the allied artillery fire.

#### IN SOVIET RUSSIA

Lenin's wireless service had announced in the Winter the discovery of a plot, organized by the Central Committee of the Left Social Revolutionary Party, to overthrow the Soviet Government, and the members of that committee, including the famous Marie Spiridonova, had been arrested. An account of the strikes and demonstrations that followed was made public in England on April 2, which showed that Lenin had to deal with a serious threat to his authority. Lenin's peremptory demand in February that the party should declare its sympathies was met by a proclamation early in March which was placarded and widely distributed in Petrograd throughout the duration of the strikes, which Lenin suppressed by the aid of his mercenaries. This proclamation, the contents of which are now known, made a violent attack on the Soviet Government, which it depicted as tyrannical and oppressive.

The internal situation, according to Moscow documents published in England on April 2, continued bad. The prices of foodstuffs were rising higher and higher, and food was becoming increasingly scarce. The Russian nationalized workmen were suffering as much as the rest. They received no payments in cash, and were barely saved from dying of hunger by a starvation diet, given under the title of "naturization" (payment in produce) in lieu of wages. A book published in Berlin, "*Der Bilanz des Russischen Bolschewismus*," by D. Gavron-

sky, a Russian Socialist of the pre-Bolshevik period, now translated into English, shows that the economic theories of the Bolsheviks have brought absolute ruin to the Russian people, peasants, workmen, and the wealthier classes. The Bolshevik national system favoring the workers had brought bankruptcy, the total product of the factories being far below the expense. The only source of income was the Soviet printing presses, which were flooding the country with paper money. Unemployment was increasing, hunger was growing in all the cities. Conditions in the country were just as bad; the peasants were starving.

The movement of rebellion was steadily growing throughout the country, and had even affected the Red Guard. Iron measures adopted by Lenin to repress the movement among the workmen of Petrograd and Moscow were only provisionally successful. Lenin and Trotzky maintained their power only by means of their army.

#### BOLSHEVISM DYING

A Dane who had held a prominent position in Russia said on his return to Copenhagen on May 3 that Bolshevism in Russia was in its last agony. His statement was in part as follows:

The political situation in Russia can be told in three words: Bolshevism is dead. In the great centres of Petrograd and Moscow a catastrophe can be expected any day. Anarchy will return and lawlessness and famine will grow, but the base for the existence of Bolshevism is weakened and the whole building will tumble down.

The base was a European revolution, and, as this proved impossible, the leaders now know that the game is lost, and Joffe, for instance, now speaks against one of the main ideas of the Bolsheviks, the nationalizing of the retail trade. This means that nothing must be sold except through the Government and nothing bought without cards. Therefore it is impossible to buy anything, and all trade has been ruined and nothing produced.

It is significant that when the workingmen strike it is for freedom and equality. The army cannot be depended upon. Daily immense numbers of soldiers desert and renounce Bolshevism. To this must be added terrific epidemics. There are not coffins enough for the dead. All communication has been stopped. Only forty persons may travel daily between Petro-



grad and Moscow. Railroad material cannot be mended or renewed, so there are no provisions from the east country, whence plenty otherwise could be transported.

A hard—and it may be the last—battle is being fought with the Executive Committee, whose President is Kalinin. Lenin does not represent the terrorist party, but, on the contrary, fights against terrorism. Trotzky wavers between, leaning always to the side where the power is. Just now the war party is uppermost, but if Lenin is victorious probably parliamentarism will be the form of government.



SCENES OF BOLSHEVIST WAR IN RUSSIA

### BOLSHEVIST PROPAGANDA

Meanwhile the Soviet system of highly organized propaganda goes on. In the hands of the Ukrainian staff at Berne is a secret document obtained through counterespionage service, which was drawn up in November, 1918, at a private council held by Lenin, in which Trotzky, Radek, and Tchitcherin participated. This document gave specific instructions "to representatives and agents of the Republic of Soviets abroad" which outdo the methods of German propaganda; strikes, sabotage, explosions, destruction of material, and stirring up of armed conflict are all included. On April 16 it was stated from Vienna that Bolshevik propaganda was filtering westward, owing to lax frontier regulations. East Prussia was best guarded, but German Silesian and Bohemian trains were filled with these propagandists; entrance into Italy was

facilitated by a false-passport factory at Trieste; the falsification of American passports, on the other hand, was so common that American diplomatic representatives in Vienna had suggested the necessity of applying the system of identification by means of thumb-prints.

On April 23 the Lausanne Gazette published documents entitled "General Instructions for a Revolution in Switzerland," which were sent from Berlin fifteen days before the general strike was declared in Switzerland in September, 1918. "All the Federal authorities and also the Military Staff must be captured and held as hostages," Lenin's instructions ordered; "the banks, railways, factories, and newspapers must be seized and placed under the control of Comrade Radek." The Gazette comments as follows:

Lenin succeeded in introducing Bolshevism into Hungary, but failed in Switzerland, owing to the prompt and energetic measures of the Federal authorities, who immediately mobilized the army and expelled foreign Bolshevik agitators, including two Germans, Rosenberg and Sarovitch, who had been sent specially from Berlin with false passports.

In the political domain there were two main facts of outstanding interest. First, the Soviet ultimatum of May 2 to Rumania, demanding the evacuation of Bessarabia. The military operations centring about this territory have been described above. A wireless dispatch from Moscow said that forty-eight hours had been given Rumania to make reply. The Rumanian Government officially denied the alleged evacuation of this former Russian province on April 14. The second event was embodied in a Soviet wireless message received in Paris by May 3, which gave the text of a treaty of alliance entered into by Ukrainian and Russian Bolshevik forces against Rumania.

### RELEASE OF TREDWELL

Another political act of the Soviet Government during the month was the release of Roger C. Tredwell of New York, the last of the American Consuls held in Russia. Mr. Tredwell had been practically imprisoned at Tashkent, Turkestan, for five months, and his execution had



been feared. On April 28 he passed the frontier into Finland.

The release of Mr. Tredwell has connection with the individual called Martens, who has opened offices in New York as accredited representative of the Soviet Government. It was stated semi-officially from Washington that one of the bargains proposed by the Bolshevik régime in regard to the efforts of the United States Government to obtain the release of Mr. Tredwell involved the granting of passports and obtaining the necessary visés for Professor Lomonossoff, one of the former representatives of the Kerensky Government, who, early in April, was announced as one of Martens's "embassy staff." It was, however, announced on April 26 that the United States Government had already issued passports and visés to Lomonossoff, but that the latter had elected to remain in this country, saying that he was an official representative of the Bolshevik Government. On the same date the State Department issued a statement concerning the "embassy" of Martens, which read in part as follows:

Rumors that American interests have been seeking concessions from the Bolshevik authorities have been called to the attention of the State Department. As the Government of the United States has never recognized the Bolshevik régime at Moscow, it is deemed proper to warn American business men that any concessions from the Bolshevik authorities probably could not be recognized as binding on future Russian Governments.

#### FEEDING CENTRAL RUSSIA

The project of feeding Soviet Russia, described in the May issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, was further developed by the announcement on April 19 that France had consented to the Nansen Commission's undertaking the enterprise. The Nansen Commission's estimate of what was needed was based on the demonstrated fact that 600 tons of food daily will feed a million people. The present population of Petrograd is less than 1,000,000 people, and it was planned to begin the feeding there, with Moscow to come next. It appeared, however, by the same date, that Dr. Nansen was having difficulty in getting in touch

with Lenin, as the wireless service of the Entente countries was not available; a messenger was to be sent to communicate Dr. Nansen's proposition to Moscow. On April 23 an indirect but emphatic answer was transmitted in the form of an interview given by Tchitcherin, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which he criticised the proposal and expressed especial resentment at its military clauses. M. Tchitcherin said:

Dr. Nansen's scheme as put down in the French and American radios and as adopted by the big four evokes distrust from the Soviet Government because it is understood that there will be no transfer of troops. But this clause will be only for the Soviet Government, because there will be a neutral commission to supervise its execution, while the clause will not tie up our adversaries because we have no commission to look after its being carried into effect.

There is no word in the scheme about the removal of allied troops from Russia. So it seems all the advantages for our adversaries will remain in force. There is also no word about any agreement between the Russian Republic and the Allies, so there seems no way out of the present situation. Likewise there is no word about ending the blockade, which is the real reason for our food difficulties.

These same neutrals to whom the work is being given to be done are our bitter enemies. They have severed every connection with our Government.

Our Government has not yet taken a position on this question, but the vague and insufficient information by radio gives us confidence in our deductions as to the character of this scheme. What we want is peace and the possibility of constructive work. This scheme does not bring us nearer to such aims.

Opposition to the Nansen project was crystallizing. No answer had been received from Lenin, and Russian representatives of anti-Bolshevik Governments in Paris, as well as the Paris press, pronounced against the undertaking, the Russian representatives insisting that the armies then making an excellent showing against the Bolsheviks should not be handicapped by movements tending to encourage the Lenin troops, and that plans for supplying food to Bolshevik Russia would only prolong the ascendancy of Lenin and his colleagues and prevent a speedy restoration of normal conditions. The situation was clari-



fied on May 13 by the receipt of a wireless addressed to Dr. Nansen by Tchitcherine announcing that the Bolsheviki refused to cease hostilities as a condition of the provisioning of Russia by neutrals.

#### RUSSIAN ROYALTIES SAFE

Twenty members of the Russian imperial family, including Grand Duke Nicholas, former Generalissimo of the Russian armies, and former Dowager Empress Marie Feodorovna, reached Constantinople from the Crimea shortly before April 15. Peter Nikolaievitch, brother of the former Czar, and the Grand Duke, both of whom married sisters of the Queen of Italy, had been invited to reside in Rome. The royal party landed at Genoa on April 23. The Dowager ex-Empress, however, went to Eng-

land. Questioned about the fate of the Czar, the Grand Duke replied as follows:

It is three years since I last saw the Czar, a few months before the outbreak of the revolution; since then I have had no sort of tidings. Stories of my participation in counter-revolutionary conspiracies are absurd. I have been subject to the strictest surveillance ever since the first month after my arrival in the Crimea. Things became more rigorous than ever after the Bolshevik invasion of October, 1917. Then, last May, the Germans arrived, and their General sent, asking me to receive him. I replied: "I have never granted anybody permission to so much as set foot in my garden, and if you ever get thus far it will be only by brute force; for never will I accept any courtesies from Germans." Nor, in fact, did I ever solicit any sort of favor, and when they finally retired before the Bolshevik reinforcements I followed them at a distance.

## What Happened in Omsk?

### Admiral Kolchak's Credentials

*The attention of the world has been centred of late upon the military successes of the Siberian armies of Admiral Kolchak against the Bolsheviki. An article in the New Europe of March 28, 1919, by C. E. Bechhofer, gives an interesting history of the events that led to the placing of the Kolchak Government in power, as follows:*

SO many contradictory guesses have been made as to what took place at Omsk in November last, when the directorate of the All-Russian Government gave place to its Minister for War and Marine, Admiral Kolchak, that a survey of the true facts may be of value. It will be remembered that the directorate arose out of the Ufa Conference on Sept. 23, 1918, as the result of a coalition between the Provisional Government of Siberia, the Urals Government, and numerous other political, social and territorial bodies. The directorate consisted of five members: Avksentiev, Tshaikovsky, and Vologodsky, (Socialists,) Astrov, (Cadet,) and General Boldyrev, (non-party.) The Ministry, at least in its intended form, was as follows: War and Marine, Admiral Kolchak; Foreign Affairs, Shekin; Interior, Hakkenberger; Communications, Ostrugov; Commerce, Orlov; Finance,

Mihailov; Labor, Shumilovsky; Supplies, Zefirov; Munitions, Serebrennikov; Justice, Starinkevitch; Education, Sapozhnikov. On Nov. 18 the directorate ceased to function, and its place was taken by Admiral Kolchak and his Ministry. According to a message telegraphed from Omsk on Jan. 30, in reply to inquiries from abroad, and printed in the Paris weekly paper *Obshcheye Djelo* (The Common Cause) on Feb. 19, the real explanation of the change of leadership in the Government is as follows:

When Siberia and the Volga provinces were freed from the Bolsheviki, two tendencies became evident among the anti-Bolshevist leaders; the first was non-party and was centred round the groups at Omsk who formed the Siberian Government; the second was represented by a body of Social Revolutionaries at Samara, calling itself the "Committee of Members of the Constituent As-



sembly." At the Ufa Conference the two sections compromised upon the formation of a coalition directorate. Unfortunately, the "Committee of Members of the Constituent Assembly," who were in essence the Central Committee of what remained of the Social Revolutionary Party, insisted that their member in the directorate, Mr. Avksentiev, should subordinate himself to them and carry out their instructions. He was to become merely the delegate of a political party group—a group, moreover, at the head of which stood Mr. Tchernov, the Zimmerwaldian and the politician whose record before and during its tenure of office as Minister of Agriculture under Mr. Kerensky in 1917 was sufficient evidence of his political incapability. Mr. Tchernov and others of the Central Committee of the Social Revolutionary Party were largely responsible for the weak and indecisive policy that led to the downfall of Mr. Kerensky's Government.

The same fate now threatened the directorate, and the new All-Russian Government decided to take the authority with which the directorate had been vested into its own hands. It chose Admiral Kolchak as head of the Government and redistributed the ministerial posts on terms which seemed to it adequate until the possibility of summoning a new Constituent Assembly in Russia. Admiral Kolchak issued a proclamation in the name of the reconstituted Government in which he declared: "I am not about to take the path of reaction or of disastrous party politics, but my chief aim will be the creation of a fighting army, victory over the Bolsheviks, and

the establishment of justice and order so that the nation may without interference choose for itself the form of government that it desires." No reactionary elements had previously served in the Ministry, nor were they admitted after the change of authority.

The following list of the members of the new Ministry shows that few changes were made. It is significant also that a majority of the civil posts is held by Socialists: Commander in Chief, Admiral Kolchak; head of the Ministry and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Vologodsky, (Socialist;) Justice, Starinkevitch, (Social Revolutionary;) War, General Stefanov; Marine, Admiral Smirnov; Finance, Mihailov, (Socialist;) Labor, Putilovsky, (Social Democrat;) Agriculture, Petrov, (Social Democrat;) Ways and Communications, Ostrugov; Post and Telegraphs, Tseslinsky; Education, Sapothnikov; Munitions and Supplies, Zefirov, (Socialist;) Commerce, Shchukin; Control, Krasnov. One result of the change was that Mr. Tchernov and his group, mortified by their failure to capture for their party the whole anti-Bolshevist Government and army, went to Moscow to make their peace with the Bolsheviks, who had always been openly contemptuous of them. But Mr. Avksentiev, who went to Paris with other prominent Social Revolutionaries, sent a telegram from New York on March 3 to Mr. Tchaikovski, the Socialist head of the Archangel anti-Bolshevist Government, in which he declared that "any negotiations whatever with the Bolsheviks are absolutely inadmissible."





[BRITISH WHITE PAPER]

## Russia Under the Bolsheviki

### Reports From British Official Sources Give New Details of the Lenin-Trotsky Terror

IN accordance with a decision of the War Cabinet in January, 1918, a collection of reports on Bolshevism in Russia was issued by the British Government in April, 1919, as a Parliamentary White Paper. The reports were for the most part from British official representatives in Russia, supplemented by statements from other British subjects who had returned from that country, and from various independent witnesses. They cover the period of the Bolshevik régime from the Summer of 1918 to the Spring of 1919. The papers are unaccompanied by anything in the nature of comment, but taken together they present a complete picture of the principles and methods of Bolshevik rule, its effects upon industrial economy, the incidents by which it has been accompanied, and the misery which it has produced.

The White Paper gives first of all messages from Sir M. Findlay, Sir E. Howard, Sir R. Paget, and others to Mr. Balfour. Messages passed through Christiania and Stockholm. Under date of Sept. 3, 1918, the Danish Minister at Petrograd sent the following message:

On Aug. 31 the Government troops forced their way into the British Embassy, their entry to which was resisted by British Naval Attaché Captain Cromie, who, after having killed three soldiers, was himself shot. The archives were sacked and everything was destroyed. Captain Cromie's corpse was treated in a horrible manner. Cross of St. George was taken from the body, and subsequently worn by one of the murderers. English clergyman was refused permission to repeat prayers over the body. French Military Mission was forced. A man named Mazon and a soldier and several Frenchmen were arrested. Bolsheviki in the press openly incite to murder British and French. It is urgently necessary that prompt and energetic steps be taken.

#### BOLSHEVISM CRUSHING SOCIALISM

On Nov. 10 Mr. Lockhart, British Consul General at Petrograd, who was actually condemned to death by the Bolsheviki, wrote as follows to Sir George Clerk:

Dear Sir George: The following points may interest Mr. Balfour:

1. The Bolsheviki have established a rule of force and oppression unequalled in the history of any autocracy.

2. Themselves the fiercest upholders of the right of free speech, they have suppressed, since coming into power, every newspaper which does not approve their policy. In this respect the Socialist press has suffered most of all. Even the papers of the Internationalist Mensheviki like Martov have been suppressed and closed down, and the unfortunate editors thrown into prison or forced to flee for their lives.

3. The right of holding public meetings has been abolished. The vote has been taken away from every one except the workmen in the factories and the poorer servants, and even among the workmen those who dare to vote against the Bolsheviki are marked down by the Bolshevik secret police as counter-revolutionaries, and are fortunate if their worst fate is to be thrown into prison, of which in Russia today it may truly be said, "many go in but few come out."

4. The worst crimes of the Bolsheviki have been against their Socialist opponents. Of the countless executions which the Bolsheviki have carried out a large percentage has fallen on the heads of Socialists, who had waged a life-long struggle against the old régime, but who are now denounced as counter-revolutionaries merely because they disapprove of the manner in which the Bolsheviki have discredited Socialism.

5. The Bolsheviki have abolished even the most primitive forms of justice. Thousands of men and women have been shot without even the mockery of a trial, and thousands more are left to rot in the prisons under conditions to find a parallel to which one must turn to the darkest annals of Indian or Chinese history.



6. The Bolsheviks have restored the barbarous methods of torture. The examination of prisoners frequently takes place with a revolver at the unfortunate prisoner's head.

7. The Bolsheviks have established the odious practice of taking hostages. Still worse, they have struck at their political opponents through their women folk. When recently a long list of hostages was published in Petrograd, the Bolsheviks seized the wives of those men whom they could not find and threw them into prison until their husbands should give themselves up.

8. The Bolsheviks who destroyed the Russian Army, and who have always been the avowed opponents of militarism, have forcibly mobilized officers who do not share their political views, but whose technical knowledge is indispensable, and by the threat of immediate execution have forced them to fight against their fellow-countrymen in a civil war of unparalleled horror.

9. The avowed ambition of Lenin is to create civil warfare throughout Europe. Every speech of Lenin's is a denunciation of constitutional methods, and a glorification of the doctrine of physical force. With that object in view he is destroying systematically, both by executions and by deliberate starvation, every form of opposition to Bolshevism. This system of "terror" is aimed chiefly at the Liberals and non-Bolshevik Socialists, whom Lenin regards as his most dangerous opponents.

10. In order to maintain their popularity with the workingmen and with their hired mercenaries, the Bolsheviks are paying their supporters enormous wages by means of unchecked paper issue, until today money in Russia has naturally lost all value. Even according to their own figures, the Bolshevik expenditure exceeds the revenue by thousands of millions of rubles per annum.

These are facts for which the Bolsheviks may seek to find an excuse, but which they cannot deny. Yours sincerely,

R. H. B. LOCKHART.

#### NON-BOLSHEVIKI OPPRESSED

After the July Congress and the anti-Bolshevik demonstrations of the Left-Socialist Revolutionaries non-Bolshevik Socialists were deprived of all political rights, hundreds of Socialist workmen were thrown into prison, and large numbers were shot. In addition, 3,000 workmen were thrown out of employment in the tramway repairing shops in Moscow simply on the ground of their Social Revolutionary sympathies. One witness says:

The most serious crime in the eyes of

the Bolsheviks is anti-Bolshevism, and the work of discovering and punishing offenders of this kind is in the hands of the Extraordinary Commission—an autocratic body which arrests, examines, imprisons, and executes at will. There is no charge, no public trial, and no appeal. There are English works foremen in prison in Moscow today with nothing against them except the fact that they happened to be in a certain street or square at the time when the Red Guards took it into their heads to make a general arrest. Appeals from the Red Cross and the neutral Consuls are unavailing. The Kommissar in charge of the case is away ill and nothing can be done till his return. Crimes of street robbery, &c., are punished in a rough-and-ready way; the offender is shot on the spot and the body left there till some one thinks good to remove it.

#### CONDITIONS IN CENTRAL RUSSIA

An estimate as to the state of trade and other conditions in Central Russia in October, 1918, is given. The metal trade was practically at a standstill, due to the shortage of fuel and raw materials, not more than 40 per cent. of the plant in all branches being in operation. In the linen trade production was 50 per cent. of the normal and being reduced. Workpeople were starving and absenting themselves from their work searching for food. In the woollen trade production was decreased 60 per cent., and so in the cotton trade, where 30 per cent. of the mills were stopped. The silk trade was practically dead. Coal had fallen 60 per cent. in production, but heavy crops were produced, and the peasants had made money. The tramway services in Moscow and Petrograd were down to one-fourth of their normal service. All lands, buildings, machinery, &c., were nationalized without any compensation being paid to the former owners. The result had been an utter deadlock, all private enterprise being killed.

Money was being hidden to an enormous extent, the absence of which was being made good as quickly as possible by the Soviets' printing presses, private printing establishments being taken over for this purpose. It was estimated that the quantity of paper currency in circulation was over 30,000,000,000 rubles, roughly a hundred times the existing gold reserve. A great quantity of false money was also being printed and



brought into circulation, especially the twenty and forty ruble note varieties. All private trading was being taken over by the Government, and stocks were being confiscated. Gold articles over a certain weight were confiscated, with the result that they had disappeared, hidden by their owners. The system of education had been entirely altered.

All religious instruction had been abolished, and in its place a form of State-Socialistic instruction substituted. The peasantry refused to send their children to the State school, and they remained without education. Clothing, such as Winter overcoats belonging to private people, was being confiscated for the benefit of the Red Army. No man was supposed to possess more than one suit of clothes, two changes of linen, or two pairs of boots. Anything above this was requisitioned for so-called State purposes. All furniture was nationalized.

#### BOLSHEVIKI A PRIVILEGED CLASS

The following dispatch is given as addressed to Earl Curzon on Jan. 23, 1919:

Following statements respecting Bolsheviks in Perm and neighborhood are taken from reports sent by his Majesty's Consul at Ekaterinburg. The Omsk Government have similar information:

The Bolsheviks can no longer be described as a political party holding extreme communistic views. They form a relatively small privileged class which is able to terrorize the rest of the population, because it has a monopoly both of arms and of food supplies. This class consists chiefly of workmen and soldiers, and included a large non-Russian element, such as Letts and Estonians, and Jews; the latter are especially numerous in higher posts. Members of this class are allowed complete license, and commit crimes against other sections of society.

The army is well disciplined, as a most strict system especially is applied to it.

It is generally said that officers are forced to serve because their families are detained as hostages. The population of Perm was rationed, and non-Bolsheviks received only one-quarter of a pound of bread a day.

The peasantry suffered less, but were forbidden under pain of death to sell food to any but Bolsheviks.

The churches were closed, for many priests were killed, and a Bishop was buried alive.

This and other barbarous punishments, such as dipping people in rivers till they were frozen to death. Those condemned to

be shot were led out several times and fired at with blank cartridges, never knowing when the real execution would take place. Many other atrocities are reported.

The Bolsheviks apparently were guilty of wholesale murder in Perm, and it is certain that they had begun to operate a plan of systematic extermination. On a lamp above a building were the words: "Only those who fight shall eat."

A detailed report is given of the state of affairs in the Moscow Government. Education had practically ceased. The children went to school because they got a free meal, but in one case even this had to be stopped because the children contracted venereal disease through the filthy condition of the utensils used in serving the meals. Only two daily papers were issued in Moscow. They were edited by leading Bolsheviks, and contained only opinions and statements likely to further the cause of Bolshevism, and nothing was allowed to be published in any way antagonistic or critical of Bolshevism. Private trading no longer existed, the only shops open being those of the Bolsheviks.

#### INDUSTRIAL CONDITIONS

During the year, it was stated, the workers had been in control of all mills, and had reduced them to such a condition that only half of them were working. The result had been that in Petrograd, for example, owing to unemployment as well as disease, the population dwindled from 2,125,000 to about 650,000. The economic prospects of the country are thus summarized in a statement compiled from statistics in the possession of the British Government:

One is forced to the conclusion that the measures inaugurated by the Bolsheviks and the means by which they are applied can have but one end—the bankruptcy of Government and the country. One may be tempted to wonder that present conditions have subsisted for so long. Though the Bolshevik régime must be approaching a débâcle, such are the resources and natural wealth of the country that there is still scope for a continuance of the present Bolshevik rule. So long as these conditions prevail the country is deprived of the benefits of trade and industry, and capital is destroyed.

Having ordained the nationalization of



industry, extraordinary measures were adopted to secure the success of the Bolshevik schemes. The brains of industry, represented by the owners, managers, and staffs, had been removed, and it became clear that factories could not survive, but laws were passed to "protect" the workpeople; among others a regulation that no workman could be dismissed on grounds of ill-health, incapacity, or illness. Such questions had to be referred to the Workmen's Committee, who invariably sided with the employees.

### "NATIONALIZED" INDUSTRY

The working of this system is thus described by the general manager of a textile mill:

The mill employed 6,500 workers, two-thirds of whom were women and one-third men. In the first instance a committee was elected from the workers by the workers. The committee consisted of twenty-four men, and from these the following three sub-committees were formed:

- (1) Controlling Committee, consisting of six.
- (2) Food Committee, consisting of four.
- (3) The Enlightening Committee, consisting of four.

The remaining ten formed the Presidium or Council.

The Presidium sat every day in a house in the mill yard from 9 A. M. till 3 P. M. and the President of the Workers' Committee always presided at the sittings of the Presidium. The duties of the Presidium were to receive all complaints from the workers and adjust them to the workers' benefit, whether the complaint was of a reasonable nature or otherwise. The result was a continual, unnecessary, and annoying interference with the inside management of the mill. For instance, should the spinners complain, say, that No. 14 yarn is working badly, they would call for the man superintending the material department and tell him to put in higher material, without taking into consideration the loss incidental to such procedure. It was therefore a constant battle to prevent the Presidium from doing this manner of injurious actions. The duties of the Controlling Committee are to control all buying and selling in connection with the mill. No money can be paid for goods delivered or for work done without their signature. Nothing can be bought without their consent, and all articles bought in the district must be bought by the members of the committee themselves. Owing to this these men, having no idea of the quality of an article, very often

buy inferior goods at higher prices than would be given by an expert. They control every action of, and are constantly interfering with, the administrative staff, and so confuse and bother the men employed on this work until they are unable to perform their duties and lose all interest and initiative.

The Food Committee look after the obtaining and distribution of foodstuffs, and are constantly traveling all over the country seeking food, but are very unsuccessful in this purpose, and therefore have very little to distribute.

The duties of the Enlightening Committee are rather obscure, but appear to consist, first, of the propagation of Socialistic principles.

All these committees, though elected in the first instance by the majority of the workers, are now practically self-elected, as the majority of the workers are so inert, uninterested, and tired of the whole Bolshevik system that they do not trouble to attend for the purpose of voting. The elections generally take place at meetings with not more than 300 or less workers present out of the 6,500, and the members of the committee have generally prearranged who will be chosen, and have their supporters who arrange matters as required.

### RESULTS OF SOCIALIZATION

In the case of this particular mill the results of socialization and popular management upon output are available in definite figures:

Before the revolution, working 18 hours per day:

Spinning mill—1,000 to 1,100 poods a day.  
Weaving mill—800 to 850 pieces of linen cloth.

Output, Winter of 1918-19, mill working 16 hours per day:

Spinning mill—450 to 500 poods per day.  
Weaving mill—400 pieces per day.

This production, it is added, was exceptional, as at other mills in the same business the turnover was much worse.

The output of other industries suffered equally, and definite figures are given of the results in the mine and iron industries. In the Donetz basin, on which industrial Russia mainly depends for coal, the first revolution in 1917 resulted in a 13 per cent. decrease. The number of pits working in November, 1918, however, had fallen to 30, compared with 390 in normal times, and these were only the smaller pits, the larger pits having, either purposely or through negligence, been flooded by the



**Bolsheviks.** The following statistics of output are given:

September, 1917.....	1,358,000
October, 1917.....	1,136,000
November, 1917.....	1,225,000
Bolshevik régime:	
December, 1917.....	811,000
January, 1918.....	491,000

With regard to the iron ore industry it is stated:

The principal iron fields of Russia are in the south—the Krivoi Rog supplying 75 per cent.—and in the Urals. The Krivoi Rog district mined about 5,000,000 tons of ore per annum prior to the war, employing 23,000 hands. The following extracts from the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Nov. 7, 1917, refer to iron works in the Krivoi Rog:

At the Gdantsevski Works only 400 workmen remained.

The Nikopol Mariupol Works, which had a normal monthly output of 500,000 poods, produced only 17,000 poods during April, 1918, and in May, 1918, work stopped entirely.

At the Donetsk-Yurievsk work has been at a standstill since May, 1918.

At Bryansk only 2,500 workmen remain out of 6,000, the normal number.

In spite of the terrible famine, the evidence in these documents goes to show that there was plenty of food in Russia, but that it was not available for the population because of the complete breakdown in transport and of the distrust between town and country, which left the peasants an abundance of food while the factory workers starved.

#### PUTILOV REVOLT

The following report, dated March 21, 1919, relates to the revolt of the workmen of the Putilov factory against Lenin:

Strikes at the Putilov and other factories have been the main events of interest during the last week. The outbreak was economic rather than political. The cry for "bread" gave place to a new cry, "Down with Lenin!" Both the strikes and the rising were due in part to the instigation of the Social Revolutionary Party. In the various workshops Bolshevism no longer keeps its hold, though a few factory committees endeavor to keep it alive. These committees are made up mainly of Communists, who maintain their power by manipulating the elections, and will even introduce total strangers in order to maintain a majority; while they terrorize the workmen and compel them to vote for the Soviet candidates. The workmen now re-

gard the factory committees as Soviet spies, and believe that their words are passed on by agents, who claim to be Social Revolutionaries, and who are sent to the works in order to report on the so-called "crime" of political opposition. It is probable for this reason that the Social Revolutionaries had less to do with the rising than had the actual workmen, though the Bolsheviks would not admit this.

On March 10 a mass meeting was held at the Putilov Works; 10,000 men were present, and a resolution was passed, with only twenty-two dissentients, all of whom were complete strangers unconnected with the works. The following extracts show the tenor of the resolution:

"We, the workmen of the Putilov Works Wharf, declare before the laboring classes of Russia and the world that the Bolshevik Government has betrayed the high ideals of the October revolution, and thus betrayed and deceived the workmen and peasants of Russia; that the Bolshevik Government acting as formerly in our names, is not the authority of the proletariat and peasants, but an authority and dictatorship of a central committee of the Bolshevik Party, self-governing with the aid of extraordinary commissions, Communists, and police.

"We protest against the compulsion of workmen to remain at factories and works, and the attempt to deprive them all of elementary rights, freedom of the press, speech, meetings, inviolability of persons, &c.

"We demand:

- "1. The immediate transfer of authority to a freely elected Workmen's and Peasants' Soviet.
- "2. The immediate re-establishment of freedom of election at factories and works, barracks, ships, railways, and everywhere.
- "3. The transfer of wholesale management to released workmen of the professional union.
- "4. The transfer of the food supply to workmen's and peasants' co-operative societies.
- "5. The general arming of workmen and peasants.
- "6. The immediate release of members of the original revolutionary peasants' party of Left-Social Revolutionists.
- "7. The immediate release of Marie Spiridonova."

The carrying of the resolution was received with cries of "Down with dictatorship!" "Down with the Kommissars!" "To the courts with the Bolshevik hangmen and murderers!" The Government took steps to put down any further manifestations, and any one found in possession of the resolution was at



once arrested. Various promises were made, and money, in the shape of "Kerensky" notes, was distributed by the Bolsheviks, but the workmen refused to be pacified, and incited their comrades to strike. On March 15 the Baltic, Skorohod, and tramway works came out on strike. The situation was so serious that Lenin came from Moscow and attempted to pacify the workmen by speeches and promises of an extra bread ration. He also promised that passenger traffic between Petrograd and Moscow should be suspended for four weeks, in order that the transport of supplies might be facilitated.

His proposals were refused, and the workmen demanded his resignation. Zinoviev and Lunacharsky, the only two Kommissars who dared to address the workmen, had no better success. Zinoviev was greeted with cries of "Down with that Jew!" and was compelled to escape. Lunacharsky found it almost impossible to obtain a hearing, and eventually promised that the Bolsheviks would resign if the majority desired their resignation. The following couplet was placarded upon the walls of Petrograd:

"Down with Lenin and horseflesh,  
Give us the Czar and pork!"

A demand was made by the delegates of the Putilov works that the resolution of March 10 should be published in the Northern Commune, but this was refused by the Kommissars of the Interior. On March 16 Torin incited Bolsheviks to kill the Social Revolutionaries, and Zinoviev brought into Petrograd a number of sailors and soldiers of the Red Army. The force was composed of foreigners, mainly Letts and Germans. During the next two days 300 arrests took place in the workshops, and suspected ringleaders and Social Revolutionaries were shot wholesale. Though order has been partially restored, and many workmen have been driven to work by means of threats, they are still incensed against the Bolsheviks, and demand the freedom of the press in order to voice their grievances.

#### ULTIMATE RESULTS

A British subject who left Petrograd in November, 1918, stated that Russian industry was dead, and that for the time being the Russian industrial workman as a class had ceased to exist. He said:

It is an extremely curious feature of the Russian revolution that a movement which has proclaimed itself as social and democratic has achieved in the first instance total destruction of those social groups on which a social democratic organization is mainly based—the class of the industrial workmen. All factories, all the important ones, with a few exceptions

of those who are still engaged on munition work, are stopped, and the industrial workman had either to return to the village with which he had no more ties in common or to enlist in the Red Army. The younger generation of the workmen, men of 19 to 26 years, have, to a great extent, chosen the second alternative, and it is they who form the Bolshevik nucleus of the Red Army.

In the same month Colonel Kimens, Acting British Vice Consul at Petrograd, reported that the expropriation of land had led to a very considerable decrease of crops; the nationalization of factories to a standstill of industry, the seizure of the banks to a complete cessation of money circulation, and the nationalization of trade to a deadlock in that branch of the economic life of the country, so that nothing was being produced.

How these and kindred measures have been carried out, and their consequences, are described in a statement made to the British Foreign Office by two British subjects who left Petrograd on Jan. 17, 1919. One of them was manager of a big firm in that city, and was in prison for three and a half months. They stated that in the villages poverty committees, composed of peasants without land and of hooligans returned from the towns, had been set against the peasant proprietor. Local Government had been handed over to these poverty committees, and they took from the peasant proprietor his produce, implements, and live stock, retaining what they needed themselves and forwarding the remainder to the towns. The peasant will not give grain to the Bolsheviks because he hates them, and hopes by this means to destroy them eventually. He is armed and united. It is for this reason that armed requisitioning companies were sent out everywhere from Petrograd and Moscow to help the poverty committees to take the grain from the peasant, and every day all over Russia such fights for grain are fought to a finish till either the peasants or the requisitioning party are wiped out. The peasant proprietors, who probably will one day be the strongest party in the future Russia, are anti-Bolshevik to a man.

The position of the workmen is no better. At first the eight-hour day with



high minimum wages greatly pleased them, but as time went on they found that, owing to the increased cost of living, they were little, if any, better off. Their wages were increased, but a vicious circle was soon set up on which their wage increases were utterly unable to keep up with the high cost of living. Reduction of output further increased the cost. At the Petrograd Wagon Works the pre-Bolshevist cost of passenger cars was 16,000 to 17,000 rubles; it is now 100,000 to 120,000. At Government works, where the Bolsheviks would be most likely to expect support, intense dissatisfaction exists. An official warning was issued to the workmen of the Putilov works through the official newspaper stating that during a period of several weeks fires, explosions, and breakdowns had regularly occurred, which could only be put down to traitors to the cause, who, when caught, would be shot.

#### PLIGHT OF THE BOURGEOISIE

As to the unhappy bourgeoisie, the situation in which they find themselves defies all description:

All who employ labor down to a servant girl, or an errand boy, or any one whose wants are provided for ahead—that is, all who do not live from hand to mouth—are considered under Bolshevism as bourgeoisie. All newspapers except the Bolshevik ones have been closed, and their plant and property confiscated. New decrees by the dozen are printed daily in the press, no other notification being given. Nonobservance of any decree means confiscation of property. All Government securities have been annulled and all others confiscated. Safe deposits have been opened, and all gold and silver articles confiscated. All plants and factories have been nationalized, as also the cinemas and theatres. This nationalization or municipalization means to the unhappy owner confiscation, since no payment is ever made. Payments by the banks from current or deposit accounts have been stopped. It is forbidden to sell furniture or to move it from one house to another without permission. Persons living in houses containing more rooms than they have members of their families have poor families billeted in the other rooms, the furniture in these rooms remaining for the use of the families billeted there.

Hundreds of houses have been requisitioned for official or semi-official use, and thousands of unhappy residents have been

turned out on the streets at an hour's notice with permission to take with them only the clothes they stood in, together with one change of linen. Houses are controlled by a poverty committee, composed of the poorest residents of the house. These committees have the right to take and distribute among themselves from the occupiers of the flats all furniture they consider in excess. They also act as Bolshevik agents, giving information as to movements. A special tax was levied on all house property amounting practically to the full value of the same. Failure to pay in fourteen days resulted in municipalization of property.

All owners and managers of works, offices, and shops, as well as members of the leisured class, have been called up for compulsory labor; first, for the burial of cholera and typhus victims, and later for cleaning the streets, &c. All goods lying at the Custom House warehouses have been seized, and first mortgaged to the Government Bank for 100,000,000 rubles. Any fortunate owner of these goods, which were not finally confiscated, had the possibility of obtaining them on payment of the mortgage. All furniture and furs stored away have been confiscated. All hotels, restaurants, provision shops, and most other shops, are now closed after having had their stocks and inventories confiscated.

Just before we left a new tax was brought out, the extraordinary Revolutionary Tax. In the Government newspapers there were printed daily lists of people, street by street, district by district, with the amount they must pay into the Government Bank within fourteen days on pain of confiscation of all property. The amounts, I noticed, ranged from 2,000 to 15,000,000 rubles. It is impossible to imagine how these sums can be paid.

These witnesses assert that the soldiers of the Red Army are no more satisfied than the peasants and workmen, and that the only troops the Bolsheviks can trust are the Lettish, Chinese, and a few battalions of sailors. They give them 250 rubles a month, all found, together with presents of gold watches and chains requisitioned from the bourgeoisie. Rifles are only given to newly conscripted troops at the front. For any military offense there is only one punishment—death. Executions are done mostly by the Chinese. If a regiment retreats against orders, machine guns are turned on them, and if the Kommissar of the regiment cannot thus hold his men he is shot. "All the soldiers I



spoke to—even those acting as our guards at the prison—cursed their fate at being compelled to serve, the only alternative being death from hunger or execution as deserters. Nearly all openly expressed the hope that the British would soon come and put an end to it all."

### 13,800 EXECUTIONS

Since the outbreak of the Red Terror which followed the murder of Commissioner Uritsky and the attempt to assassinate Lenin, in the Summer of 1918, the mention of atrocities is less frequent in these statements, but this is due to the state of terrorism which has been established. The whole population, says Mr. Alston, who represents the British Foreign Office at Vladivostok, with the exception of the Bolsheviks, is terrorized almost to a point of physical paralysis and imbecility. Altogether the number of people known to have been murdered is about 13,800. This number is probably not exhaustive, and is based only on the admission of the Bolsheviks themselves. The following extracts are typical of the brutal nature of these executions, the first being by a British subject who left Moscow in December, 1918:

The number of people who have been coldly done to death in Moscow is enormous. Many thousands have been shot, but lately those condemned to death were hanged instead, and that in the most brutal manner. They were taken out in batches in the early hours of the morning to a place on the outskirts of the town, stripped of their shirts, and then hanged one by one by being drawn up at the end of a rope until their feet were a few inches from the ground, and then left to die. The work was done by Mongolian soldiers. Shooting was too noisy and not sure enough. Men have crawled away after a volley, and others have been buried while still alive. I was told in Stockholm by one of the representatives of the Estonian Government that 150 Russian officers who were taken prisoner at Pskov by the Red Guards were given over to the Mongolian soldiers, who sawed them to pieces.

A British subject who left Moscow in January supplies the following statement:

Executions still continue in the prisons, though the ordinary people do not hear

about them. Often during the executions a regimental band plays lively tunes. The following account of an execution was given to Mr. A. by a member of one of the bands. On one occasion he was playing in the band, and as usual all the people to be executed were brought to the edge of the grave. Their hands and feet were tied together so that they would fall forward into the grave. They were then shot through the neck by Lettish soldiers. When the last man had been shot the grave was closed up, and on this particular occasion the band man saw the grave moving. Not being able to stand the sight of it he fainted, whereupon the Bolsheviks seized him, saying that he was in sympathy with the prisoners. They were on the point of killing him, but other members of the band explained that he was really ill, and he was then let off. Among the prisoners shot on that occasion was a priest, who asked permission to say a prayer before being shot, to which the Bolsheviks replied laconically, "Ne nado" (it is not necessary).

### BLOOD BATH AT WALK

An account of the unspeakable deeds done in Esthonia is given on Page 495 of this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. A supplementary report recounts what happened in the town of Walk, where hundreds of persons were massacred. The unfortunates, who belonged to different classes of society, were arrested on all sorts of pretexts, kept prisoner a few days, and then, in groups of twenty to thirty, led out of the town to the place of execution, where graves were already prepared for them. Every night twenty to thirty persons were executed without examination or trial. Before being shot the victims were tortured in every possible way. All the bodies bore marks of many bayonet thrusts as well as gun wounds. The skulls were shattered and the bones broken.

An Estonian soldier was taken prisoner, and was to be executed along with many others. The Bolshevik bullets, which killed so many of his comrades, did not hit him, and he succeeded in escaping from the common burial place. He describes this terrible blood-bath as follows:

They took our caps, coats, and cloaks. Thirty-five armed Bolsheviks surrounded us in order to prevent any attempt at escape. Our hands were bound behind our backs. Besides this we were fastened



in couples, and then each pair joined by a long rope, so that we marched all attached to the one rope. Thus we were led to death. As I protested against this barbaric treatment, the Bolshevik officer struck me twice on the head with a riding whip and said: "Shooting is too good for you; your eyes ought to be put out before death." At the word of command the Bolsheviks fired a volley. The bound group fell to earth. I also was pulled down by the others, though I had not been hit. The Bolsheviks fired four rounds on the fallen. Fortunately I again was missed. Then the executioners fell upon us like wild animals to rob us. Any one who still moved was finally killed by bayonets or blows from the butt ends of rifles.

In a dispatch dated March 3 the British Consul at Ekaterinburg gives the results of an investigation at Perm after its capture by the Siberian Army. It was established that several thousand persons had been shot or drowned. "Commissaries consisted of unintellectual laborers from 20 to 30 years old, who condemned people to death without making any accusation against them, frequently personally taking part in the murder of their victims."

Murders were frequently preceded by tortures and acts of cruelty. Laborers at Omsk, before being shot, were flogged and beaten with butts of rifles and pieces of iron in order to extract evidence. Victims were frequently forced to dig their own graves.

#### BRITISH CHAPLAIN'S STORY

How Odessa suffered from a systematic campaign of murder, robbery, and outrage after the first entrance of the Bolsheviks on March 13, 1918, was described by Courtier Forster, British Chaplain in Odessa, as follows:

If the brutal tyranny which the Bolsheviks have compelled the terror-ridden Russian people to accept in the name of "Freedom of Mind and Body" punishes all liberty of thought with torture, outrage, and death, freedom of body is equally travestied by unthinkable cruelties unless the term is accepted as synonymous with bestial indecency and moral depravity. In Odessa, after the first capture of the city by the Bolsheviks, my experience of what the New Civilization understands by the great phrase was certainly illuminating.

Of freedom of speech, or of the press, or of religious conviction there was none. People were arrested on every hand for any indiscreet criticism of the existing

régime. Newspapers were heavily fined, or even their publication suspended for daring to publish any opinions displeasing to the Bolshevik leaders. Services in the churches were frequently interrupted with uproar and hostile demonstrations. The only "Freedom of Mind" allowed was that which was studiously concealed, and denied all expression in speech, look, or writing. "Freedom of Body," as the Bolsheviks understand the phrase, means sickening orgies of piglike depravity.

Women and girls engaged in shopping in the lower parts of the town were seized by hands of men from the Red Army and carried off to warehouse yards and similar places, where their fate was worse than death. Indeed, in many instances they were found dead on the following morning. Orgies which defy description were of daily occurrence.

Wine shops and cellars were by degrees broken into and looted throughout the city. Free drinks from pails and buckets were given to all who cared to have them. Women returning from market in the morning were stopped and compelled to drink from pails held on high by two soldiers.

One afternoon I came away from a shop and found the streets running red with hundreds of gallons of wine pouring from the smashed vats of a great store. Numbers of Bolsheviks lay flat on the pavement, with faces in the gutter, drinking from the stream which flowed past, carrying with it the accumulated filth and refuse of the uncleansed city. This is the Bolshevik idea of "Freedom of Body," coupled with the right to make the public parks and gardens the scene of indescribable obscenities, and a recognition of murder and assassination as the customary methods of dealing with those whose ideas of "Freedom of Body" savor of sympathy with the worn-out and benighted standards of the effete civilization of the Allies.

#### MURDER OF A GENERAL

One instance of the customary method of manifesting political disapproval robbed me of a charming acquaintance of many years. General X. lived in a flat in Dom Papoodov. Since the revolution he had retired from the army and all public life, and carefully abstained from any participation in politics. His extreme discretion did not avail to save him. He was under suspicion of harboring latent hostility and repugnance toward the all-important Bolshevik conception of "Freedom of Mind and Body."

One afternoon a party of soldiers of the Red Army came to his apartment. They found the General in the act of closing his front door; he was going out to tea with some friends. The soldiers told him he was under arrest and must accompany



them. He asked permission to tell his wife, who, he explained, was following him in a few minutes to the house of a friend, and would be extremely anxious at his nonappearance. The leader of the band refused the request, declaring: "She will know soon enough." He also declined to permit one of the men to ring the bell and inform his family he had been arrested.

The guards led him downstairs. In the vestibule they shot him dead, and, leaving his body in a pool of blood, lighted cigarettes and went their way. Three minutes afterward his wife came down on her way to join him at tea, and found her husband's corpse in the hall. Two hours later on the same afternoon other Red Guards came to the same house and carried out more "execution," this time in the flats of the victims. From day to day one's social circle diminished. Friends with whom one conversed in the evening had vanished the following morning.

### THIEVES FALL OUT

Sometimes the Red Guards in searching houses were content with giving insults and taking loot. Frequently their object was not confined to murder or robbery, but to inflict the greatest possible amount of mental distress and harassment by repeated and systematic visitations, which might or might not result in assassination.

As many as five search parties came to my flat in one morning. Some friends of mine had their house thrown into the wildest disorder and confusion, and everything overhauled seventeen times in one day. Many officers were done to death under circumstances of unexampled torture and cruelty. There was no honor even among thieves, and for nearly a year one never had a night's rest without being awakened by the tumult of shots fired in the street without, or the shrieks of agony of some hapless victim of the New Civilization.

On one such occasion when the night was more hideous than usual by reason of the incessant firing, a conflict took place

between two marauding bands of Bolsheviks returning from looting expeditions in opposite quarters of the town. Each party knew the spoils of the other would be of considerable value, so the Apostles of Freedom fought each other to the death for the property which their own proclamations declare no persons have a right to.

The larger party were the victors. The four members of the smaller band were all left dead in the street. When on the following morning the death carts made their rounds to gather up the victims of the night, a pocket of one of the dead bandits was found to have been overlooked by the triumphant murderers; in it was found a further 20,000 rubles.

Life became ever of lighter value. The brutality of assassination increased daily. There lived a few houses further down the street in which I had my quarters the young wife and little son of a junior officer, absent at the time in Petrograd. She went one day to draw her allowance, which amounted to only a few pounds. Small as the sum was, it aroused the cupidity of a few watchful Bolsheviks. On the following morning her apartment was found looted, and she and her boy both dead in the bed, pierced through and through with thrusts from bayonets.

In the same street, the Kanatnaya, another ghastly affair came to my notice. One morning at about 11:30 two quietly dressed ladies were standing at the corner waiting the coming of a tramcar. A party of Bolsheviks approached and noticed them as members of the persecuted "Bourjouy" class. Without the formality of any arrest or mockery of a trial—indeed, there was no charge possible against the two middle-aged, middle-class women setting forth to the town to make some purchases—both were shot dead on the pavement at the street corner. It was a return of this wanton brutality and reign of terror which awaited those harassed and luckless citizens who found themselves once again in the clutches of the Red Army after the fall of Odessa in the Spring of 1919.

## Crimes of the Bolsheviks in Esthonia

### Official Record of Horrors

[TRANSLATED FROM L'ILLUSTRATION, PARIS, MARCH 8, 1919, FOR CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE defeats inflicted on the Red Army in Esthonia and the resulting retreat made it possible to reconstitute by the aid of the sad vestiges and remains found in that region the acts of frightful savagery committed by

the vanquished Bolsheviks before they evacuated. The innocent victims were numerous, and the photographs, which we reproduce,\* with extracts from the evidence given in official documents, reveal the true nature of their martyrdom.



On Jan. 17 last the Esthonian troops regained the town of Wesenberg, which had been for some time in the hands of the Bolsheviki. In presence of the Commander of Militia of Küti, the Lieutenant Commander of Militia of Tenneberg, and Drs. Wiren and Utt, many freshly dug graves, pointed out to the liberating forces by the population, were opened.

A few days before, seized by a fury of massacre, the Bolsheviki had slaughtered hundreds of notable people. They had used the abominable methods characteristic of them, and which they employed, according to the report of Prince Lvov, in the case of the members of the royal family, and more recently, on Jan. 28, in the cell of a prison of Petrograd in the case of the four Grand Dukes, put to death, according to the explanation of the assassins, in reprisal for the murders of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg. [See "The Affair of the Grand Dukes," elsewhere in this issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*.]

The bestiality with which the Bolsheviki carried out their crimes was evidenced by lamentable traces on a considerable extent of ground around the tombs. The soil was covered with pools of blood, fragments of hats and clothing, brains and skulls, to which hair was still adhering. In the first grave sixteen corpses were found and photographed. The following were identified: Dr. Reinik, army physician; Serge Filoren-ski, orthodox priest; Hospital Nurse Ellenburg of Revel; Gustave Bock, a merchant; Tönis Pödra of Untea; Tonu Poiklik, a railway employe of Wesenberg; Ferdinand Tops of Undla; Rudolf Roost, hospital nurse of Tudalinna; Edvard Sepp of Welso, and a shoemaker, Kolb, of Wesenberg.

In the next grave there were also sixteen victims. The third grave—the largest one—was opened the following day, Jan. 18. It contained fifty victims. A certain number of them were identified, notably landed proprietors, railway and postal employes, and one woman

nurse. The victims had been stripped of all their clothing and their shoes. The heads of thirty-three of them were completely crushed. Besides wounds made by firearms, most of the bodies were pierced by bayonet thrusts, and often horribly disemboweled. The arm and leg bones of almost all were broken.

Concerning the Bolshevik procedure, one of the hostages, M. A. Munstrum, who miraculously escaped the butchery, gave the following account:

On Jan. 11, in the afternoon, fifty-six of us were brought to the place of execution. A grave had already been dug. We were divided into two groups and lined up at the edge of the grave. There were among us six women who were killed first because their piercing cries resounded disagreeably in the ears of our executioners. One of these women tried to flee. A volley of shots brought her down immediately. She was only wounded. Several Bolsheviki seized her by the legs and dragged her back to the grave, into which they pushed her. Five of the executioners jumped into the hole, fired their guns at her, and stamped on her until her cries ceased. This execution accomplished, they turned to the other unfortunates, who still stood there, terrorstricken. At the word of command a volley of shots resounded. All fell. The victims were thrown into the grave, into which the Red soldiers jumped to finish them off with the butts of their guns, with their bayonets, and even with their feet.

At Dorpat the Bolsheviki committed the same kind of atrocities as at Wesenberg. On Christmas Eve they assassinated Max von zur Muhler, the well-known Director of Fisheries. On Dec. 26 were shot Mikkell Kus, Alex Lepp, Alexander Aland, and Karl Soo. On Jan. 9 the Reds assassinated eleven other hostages. All these executions took place on the brink of the Embach River. The corpses were thrown into the water through holes cut in the ice. After Dorpat was retaken by the Esthonian troops the sixteen victims were fished out of the water. It was discovered that they had all been tortured before being put to death. The arm and leg bones of most of them were broken and the skulls crushed. Karl Soo, shot on Dec. 26, had had his eyes put out.

On the eve of their expulsion from Dorpat, on Jan. 14, the Bolsheviki put more

\*The photographs mentioned on the preceding page, showing piles of corpses, eyes gouged out and noses cut off, are not reproduced in *CURRENT HISTORY*.



than twenty of their prisoners to death. The official inquest brought to light the details of this last act of ferocity. The unfortunate victims, numbering more than 200, had been incarcerated in the building of the Credit System and the police station; they were assembled and the roll was called; the designated victims, about twenty in number, were then stripped of clothing, shoes, and articles of value, and brought into the cellars of the building of the Credit System, where their skulls were crushed with axes and the butts of guns. The rapid flight of the Reds before the Esthonian Army prevented the Bolsheviki from executing the rest of the prisoners, among whom were nearly eighty women.

The bodies were so horribly disfigured that it was difficult to identify them. The searchers, however, were able to recognize Archbishop Platon, the priest Michel Bleiwe of the Orthodox Church of St. George; the old priest of the Uspenski Church, Nicholas Beshanitzki; a university professor, Dr. Traugott; Herman von Samson Ilimmelstjernade Kavershov, Heinrich von Krause, landed proprietor of Revold; the banker, Arnold V. Tidebohl; Herbert V. Schenk, Baron Konstant von Knorring, Pastor Wilhelm Schwartz, the Councilors of Justice, Gustave Tensmann and Gustave Seeland; the merchant, Susman Kaplan; the potter, Ado Luik; the merchants,

Harry Vogel and Massal, and M. Kärner of the paper Postimees.

Dr. Wolfgang von Revher, who visited the cellars of the Credit System immediately after the execution—the bodies were still warm at the time of his visit—gave the following impressions:

The floor was covered with piles of corpses, heaped upon each other in bizarre positions as Death had surprised them. They formed three layers; they were clad only in their shirts. Almost all bore traces of gunshot, delivered at close range, in the head; the skulls of several were crushed; in one case there was almost nothing left of the skull. Some had been shot several times. The floor and the walls were covered with dried blood and bits of brain. I counted twenty-three corpses. The way in which the bodies were piled made the horrible inventory very difficult. The human remains covered the ground so thickly that it was impossible to put down one's foot without touching a corpse.

A more detailed examination showed that Archbishop Platon had received an explosive bullet in the right eye. The priest Bleiwe had been killed by an axe-blow, which had taken away half of his face. The priest Beshanitzki, also killed with an axe, had been struck in the face. These two priests were recognized only with the greatest difficulty. The same applied to Pastor Schwartz, whose head and arms had been cut off. One officer was found, whose epaulettes were fastened to his body with nails.

## "The Affair of the Grand Dukes"

ON Jan. 30, 1919, a short item appeared in a Bolshevik newspaper at Petrograd, an item printed in small type and lost amid a chaos of decrees. It read as follows:

On Jan. 24, 1919, the Extraordinary Commission for Struggle Against the Counter-Revolution and Speculation ordered that the following persons be shot: Affair 6,440, Lavrentiev, guilty of theft from the tax messenger in Decembrist Street. Affairs 7,354, 7,385, Radtchenko, Tychkine, Pollanof for pillage in the Zagorodny Prospekt. Affair 8,819, Koullkov and Petrov, for sacking apartments in Marat and Kirochnaya Streets. Affair 7,477, Andreef, Dmitriev,

and Ovsianikov, for assassination and theft in the district of Schlussenbourg. Affair of the Grand Dukes Paul Alexandrovitch, Nicholas Mikhailovitch, Dimitri Constantinovitch, George Mikhailovitch. President, Skorokhodov; Acting Secretary, Lulov.

In the case of all the common malefactors whose names preceded those of the four Grand Dukes, the specific crime was charged; but the only motivation for execution in the case of these last was "The Affair of the Grand Dukes."

This small item aroused terror in the heart of a young man who read it in Terrijoki, a Russian watering place on



the Russo-Finnish frontier, on Jan. 31. The young man was Count Paul Shuvalov, whose exploit in penetrating to Petrograd in disguise and rescuing Princess Palley, wife of the Grand Duke Paul Alexandrovitch, from the hands of the Bolsheviks, was recounted in *L'Illustration*, March 8, 1919. A passage in Count Shuvalov's article tells, from a source declared to be impeccable, the short and tragic story of the execution of the four Grand Dukes in the Petrograd Fortress of Peter and Paul.

The Grand Dukes, Count Shuvalov relates, were transferred from the prison of Shpalernia to the headquarters of the Extraordinary Commission on Jan. 28. Believing that the hour of liberation had come, the Grand Dukes departed gladly. They were brought before Skorokhodov, who, having signed a decree of execution four days before, went through the form of a trial as quickly as possible, hastily, reluctantly, like one who considers the proceedings in the light of a boring and completely superfluous ceremony. The prearranged verdict of death was mumbled off within fifteen minutes. In company with another victim—an Englishman, according to the testimony of the

Red Guards—the four Grand Dukes were brought in an automobile truck to the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Locked up in separate cells, they passed their last night on earth within a few steps of the cathedral which holds the remains of their ancestors.

Early next morning the five condemned men were brought together in a large cell. After waiting a few minutes, they saw the door open, and the non-commissioned officer on duty cried out a name. One of the Grand Dukes rose, and went out to answer the summons. He was pushed into another cell, and two Red Guards shot him dead with their revolvers. Again the noncommissioned officer cried a name; a second Grand Duke went out, and met the same fate; and then the third, and fourth; a fifth name was called, and all was over. The names of the two executioners were Blogovidov and Soloviev. The method of execution was a new one, invented by Skorokhodov, (his name, curiously enough, signifies "he who goes quickly,") successor to the hysterical and bloodthirsty Mme. Jakovleva, whose own execution by the Bolsheviks was recently announced, for reasons not given.

## Conditions in Greater Serbia

### Revival Despite Difficulties

[PERIOD ENDED MAY 15, 1919]

THE battle-scarred soldiers of Serbia have come back home to find their country more than doubled in size and population, with new frontiers and tariff boundaries, new lines of communication, and even to a large extent new rulers. For half the members of the new Yugoslav Ministry are from beyond the boundary of Serbia proper. The Minister of the Interior is a Croatian. Side by side with the Serbian Army there now exists a Yugoslav Army. How is all this to evolve into one homogeneous State? Such questions are agitating every one in the new Yugoslav nation today. But transcending the scope of merely political considerations

are the very vital problems connected with railway transportation, food supplies, export and import, harbor outlets, and other needs of this kind on which the future economic prosperity of the newly created nation depends.

#### RAILWAY TRANSPORTATION

According to a British correspondent of *The Manchester Guardian*, the question of Yugoslav transportation is serious. He wrote in April:

There are two gateways to Serbia. The first is from Saloniki up the newly repaired railway line to Uskub, and thence by any available means of transport into Old Serbia. The second is over Croatia or Dalmatia to Belgrade. The traveler



by either route will find himself held up at each stage of the journey by difficulties of transport.

The systematic destruction of the railways by the Bulgarians and Austrians has complicated a thousandfold the difficulties of the Serbians and of the various relief agencies that are at work there. All last Autumn hundreds of British army lorries were at work on the road between Nish and Veles, (on the railway between Saloniki and Uskub.) But although the round trip only takes a few days, all these hundreds of three-ton lorries could only manage to put down twenty tons of food daily at Nish. This was due to the bad condition of the roads, which made it impossible to load the lorries fully, and made it necessary for them to carry a very large quantity of petrol. The drivers spent days climbing in and out of holes on the road. The hardships experienced during the Winter weather by the British drivers on these roads caused heavy losses among men already worn out by malaria. Influenza and pneumonia carried off twenty and thirty men out of some M. T. companies.

The difficulty of getting supplies to repair gangs delayed the reconstruction of the railway and the repair of the roads. The line was opened to Uskub in December; from there to Vranja in January; but between Vranja and Nish a serious and difficult gap still remained. Between Nish and Belgrade the line is entirely destroyed and will not be open before the Spring at the earliest. The narrow-gauge line to Uzhitze, in the west of Serbia, is also completely destroyed.

The difficulties of getting relief supplies into the country by way of Saloniki caused the allied command to turn to Fiume, which is now the base for the north of Serbia. The railway line from Fiume to Belgrade is in good order, but there is a great lack of coal and sufficient skilled staff. Trains, however, complete the journey in three days. In peace time fast trains took twelve hours. A great quantity of goods from England has reached Belgrade over this line and some has already gone into the interior.

From Belgrade into the interior the only means of transport is now the Danube and Save. There are ports all along the river to east and west of Belgrade, and as the weather remained mild during the early part of the Winter, and the river did not freeze, goods were sent to these ports by lighter and taken inland by lorry or bullock wagon.

#### ALL CLASSES AFFECTED

The difficulty of transport in Serbia is causing even the moneyed class to go badly clothed and shod; it is keeping officials from their posts, husbands from their families, doctors from their patients.

It is responsible for the empty shops in Belgrade and for the hospitals idle for lack of medical stores up country. In January this year [1919] the medical officer of the British Naval Mission in Belgrade was unable to obtain dressings or instruments from his base or to borrow them from any of the hospitals in Belgrade.

Apart from the transport difficulty, life is now something like normal. Enemy occupation has gone like a bad dream, leaving only bitter memories. It is coming to seem quite natural to have the Government settled again at Belgrade, the Court in residence, Serbian instead of Austrian police at the street corners. Schools are reopening, dancing classes are already in full swing, and many returning commercial men are beginning to take up the threads of their business.

The peasants, who form the vast majority of the population, have mostly managed to hide sufficient corn and maize for seed and food. As the army is not yet demobilized, the sowing of the Winter corn has been carried out again by the women. In most cases the wives who were left behind during the evacuation appear to have struggled hard to keep the farms going during their husbands' absence. A fair amount of stock has been left, and some peasants are now obtaining compensation for stock and carts carried off.

One or two districts where the population rebelled against the Bulgarians have been laid waste and the population either killed or left in a wretched condition. Relief work is being undertaken in these areas, though certainly not on a larger scale than is needed.

#### PROTEST BY M. PROTITCH

One of the main necessities of this newly formed and economically embarrassed nation is to have a maritime outlet. The Yugoslav side of the Fiume controversy, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, gives the details of this phase of the situation. An authoritative statement of the boundary claims both as regarding Italy and other nations, and including the Fiume question, was given in Belgrade, the Serbian capital, on April 2, by the Yugoslav statesman, M. Protitch, in an address delivered on that date before the Skuptchina. In this speech M. Protitch protested against the Allies' treatment of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, and asserted that their failure to recognize the new nation was due to the secret com-



pact known as the Treaty of London. He said:

This secret treaty, the text of which we now know, denies by its very constitution and clauses our unity and national status in the interests of one of the Allies. In our opinion this is the sole reason for the nonrecognition hitherto by France, Great Britain, and Italy of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. If the pretext is given that peace is not yet signed and the frontiers are not yet demarkated, then the same pretext should apply in the case of Poland and Czechoslovakia, particularly as their participation in the war cannot even remotely be compared with the effort of our people and of the Serbian Kingdom, representing in the war our whole nation.

The grounds for Rumania's not having replied to the notification of the creation of our State will be found in another secret treaty. This treaty also violates our national territory. We regret, therefore, that there should be two weights and two measures in regard to an ally who has always been loyal and deserving.

Serbia has lost more than 290,000 soldiers who have been killed or have died of sickness, without counting the victims of the concentration camps. We regret that the Allies are treating as enemies some of our people who belonged formerly to Austria-Hungary, but who now form part of our new kingdom. Notwithstanding our respect for our friends and allies, we feel obliged to protest, on behalf of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, formerly a part of Austria-Hungary, who fought so heroically on the Saloniki and Dobrudja fronts and on behalf of the Yugoslav battalions who surrendered to the Italians in order to facilitate the advance of the allied army on this front.

#### ITALY'S CLAIMS CONTROVERTED

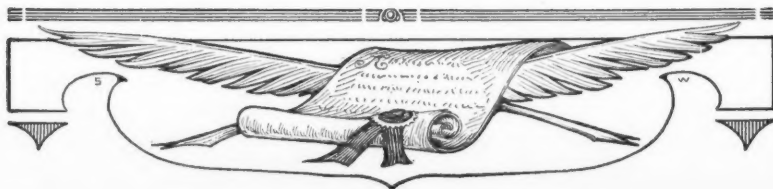
We shall not despair, however, as our claims are justified by modern and sacred principles. We may hope for the full success of our national claims if President Wilson's principles are the true basis of the organization of Europe and

the world, and if the solemn proclamations by the Allies on the equality of great and small nations and on the liberty of peoples have validity.

We are receiving unjustifiable reproaches while one of our allies, without incurring blame, is continually advancing into Albania right up to our frontiers, although our contingents were the first to arrive on the Mati and at Scutari, after driving off the enemy. No reproaches are made concerning the claims of another allied nation on the Western Banat in spite of its considerable foreign population, and although the Western Banat was never part of that country's national territory.

The Italian authorities are hoisting the Italian flag all over Dalmatia and are forbidding our national and State flags to appear. They insist on candidates for Government service making special applications, taking the oath of allegiance to Italy, and considering themselves as Italian officials. They are deporting notables. Misunderstandings, disagreements, and even conflicts must be the inevitable consequence of this abnormal situation. What must be the impressions of this portion of our nation on learning that the Italian Premier affirms that Italy cannot remain deaf to the call of the most Italian town of Fiume, although we know that Fiume is a Croatian town and that it not only calls us but begs us to incorporate it in its territory as soon as possible, as well as the whole of Istria and the Gorizia region? The great number of Italians in Trieste and Gorizia is not a sufficient reason for us to refuse this request, any more than the great number of Italians in New York would be a sufficient reason to deny the right of America to that town. The whole region of Trieste and Gorizia is really ours by right, as well as Bosnia and the Western Banat.

In conclusion M. Protitch said the Yugoslavs based their hopes upon the principles of national liberty and demanded the independent and impartial arbitration of America.





# Montenegro and Serbia

## The Mountain Kingdom's Protest Against Forcible Absorption by Serbia—Montenegro's Part in the War

**M**ONTENEGRO'S complete union with Serbia and the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was decided upon by the "National Assembly of Montenegro," and M. Pavitchovitch was appointed Montenegrin representative at Belgrade, according to a dispatch from the Serbian capital dated April 23, 1919. A message from Podgoritza further stated that 118 Deputies were present at the meeting.

This merging of Montenegro with Serbia has long been regarded by Serbian leaders as an accomplished fact; but King Nicholas of Montenegro, though an exile, still has many followers who are energetically protesting against what they consider compulsory amalgamation. Their side of the case is stated in a series of pamphlets by Yovan S. Plamenatz, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Montenegro. These documents, issued in Paris on March 5 as a memorandum addressed to the Peace Conference, tell in detail the part played by Montenegro in the European war, from the assassination of the Austrian Grand Duke at Serajevo in June, 1914, to Montenegro's capitulation to Austria in January, 1916. The memorandum narrates the course of events leading to the military occupation of Montenegro by Serbia, denounces alleged acts of injustice and cruelty committed by Serbia's representatives during this occupation, urges an investigation by the Peace Conference of Serbia's alleged wrongdoing, and puts forth certain territorial claims on historical, geographical, economic and linguistic grounds to Herzegovina, the mouths of Cattaro and Scutari.

### HOW MONTENEGRO HELPED

As early as July 24, 1914, immediately following the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia, the Montenegrin Government answered the appeal of M. Pashitch, head of the Serbian Government at Belgrade, in the following words:

Serbia can count on the fraternal, unlimited assistance of Montenegro in this critical moment for the Serbian people, as on all other occasions.

Montenegro declared war on Austria-Hungary on Aug. 8, 1914, and a few days later on Germany. On Oct. 15, 1915, she declared war similarly on Bulgaria, announcing that "she considered the cowardly attack of Bulgaria against Serbia as having been committed equally against Montenegro." Her course, the memorandum implies, was imprudent, for she had neither food nor equipment. She mobilized all her effective troops, totalling 43,000 active belligerents, placed them under Serbian officers, and fought on the left wing of the Serbian Army.

The offensive of 1914 against Serajevo, capital of Bosnia, was effected by a column composed largely of Montenegrin troops. In the Autumn of 1914, when the Austrian General Potiorek undertook his great offensive against Serbia, and Belgrade and a large part of Serbia were invaded, forcing the Serbian Army to retreat before superior numbers, Montenegro was fighting on its own frontiers, in Bosnia, and even on Serbian territory. Two Austrian army corps were opposed to the Montenegrin forces. When Russian successes in the Carpathians became menacing, Austria sent two army corps from Serbia to that front; on this ground the Montenegrins hold that the subsequent victories due to this reduction of the Austrian forces opposed to Serbia were due to her.

Again, in the Autumn of 1915, Montenegro played an important part. Toward the beginning of October, Serbia underwent a frontal attack by the Austro-Germans commanded by Mackensen, while Bulgaria assailed her on the rear. The situation was critical. Serbia, because of the inactivity of the Balkans, was completely isolated. Only Montenegro came to her aid. Ferri Pisani, who accompanied the Serbian Army at this



moment, in his book "The Serbian Drama," (Paris, 1916,) acknowledged the services rendered by Montenegro on this occasion.

#### MONTENEGRO'S HEROIC STAND

But it was in the last months of 1915 that Montenegro's "debt to Serbia" was most liberally paid. Mackensen's plan was to cut off the Serbian Army and make it prisoner. Bulgaria was to break the eastern front in Macedonia, near Veles and Uskub, and push on to Prizren; the Austrians were to break through the western, that is, the Montenegrin front. The Bulgarians attained their objective, taking Veles, Uskub, and Tetovo, and thus cutting off the Serbian retreat through Macedonia. Mackensen's plan would have succeeded if the Montenegrin front had been similarly broken. But Montenegro did not give way. For nearly three months Montenegro carried on a desperate and bloody conflict against the Austrians. The Serbian official communiqués tell the story of that long resistance. The Serbian Army's line of retreat to the sea was thus kept open through Montenegro. In November, 1915, the Generalissimo of the Serbian Army sent a dispatch to Yanko Voukotitch, the Montenegrin General, saying: "If you succeed in checking the advance of the enemy, Montenegro will have paid her debt to Serbia." The debt was paid by an army destitute of munitions, clothing, and food, fighting on a front of 300 kilometers, 90 of which were on Serbian territory. In this war Montenegro lost 11,000 men; 8,500 were wounded.

The lack of food, the pamphlet declares, was the main cause of Montenegro's capitulation to Austria in January, 1916. During the years 1914-15 Montenegro was practically abandoned to her fate by the Allies. Envoys sent to Paris to obtain supplies were told that the Allies had included food for Montenegro in provisions assigned to Serbia; requests of Serbia were left unanswered; appeals to Russia were answered, but the food never reached Montenegro. The situation became critical. The King of Montenegro asked the advice of the allied representatives, who either positively or negatively counseled the asking of

an armistice. The Serbian Minister at Cetinje was emphatically in favor of an armistice. The King then left the country and went to Paris; the armistice was concluded.

This peace with the enemy was denounced by Serbia as an act of treason to the Serbian cause. As soon as the peace was requested, she recalled from Montenegro all the Serbian officers of the High Command. Colonel Pechitch, the Serbian commander, promised to defend Scutari and the Boyana passage; this promise was not kept, and the retreat of the Montenegrin Army was completely cut off. The pamphlet accuses Serbia of perfidy, first, in persuading Montenegro to make peace; secondly, in betraying her on the occasion just described; and thirdly, in representing the peace with Austria in the Serbian press in the light of Montenegrin "treachery."

#### THE SERBIAN OCCUPATION

Following the armistice, this account continues, the Austrian troops left Montenegro. The Serbians then entered, accompanied by bands of agents and agitators. Thousands of pamphlets were distributed, defamatory, according to this statement, both of Montenegro and of her King. The Serbian troops and the comitadjis oppressed the Montenegrins both morally and physically. The nation was suffering from famine, which the Allies, owing to the machinations of the Serbians, made no effort to relieve. The Serbian Red Cross, says this writer, distributed food only to those Montenegrins who were pro-Serbian; only those Montenegrins were repatriated who upheld the Serbian cause; only those Government officials were paid who favored Serbia. Montenegrin officers were compelled to swear fidelity to the King of Serbia.

Then came the so-called election for a "Great National Skuptchina" to decide the fate of Serbia; the decree calling for the elections was signed by three individuals, of whom two were Serbs, and not Montenegrins, Svetozar Tomitch, Inspector in the Ministry of Public Instruction and chief of Serbian propaganda against Montenegro, and Peter Kosso-



vitch, professor in a Serbian college. The "election" lasted only half a day; its decision, the Montenegrins declare, was prepared and compelled by coercive means. A directorate of five, three of whom had a criminal record, according to this account, was then appointed to "liquidate the affairs of Montenegro." And lastly, the Belgrade Government announced that "the union of Montenegro and Serbia was an accomplished fact." Against this whole procedure, this memorandum, reflecting the views of many Montenegrins, energetically protests, and calls on the Peace Conference to investigate the charges made against Serbia, which it declares to be irrefutable.

#### MONTENEGRO'S CLAIMS

Montenegro, in this memorandum, holds that the Allies should have given her the right to send two delegates to the Peace Conference as one of the belligerent nations. Instead of this, one delegate was assigned to her, no more than was given to nations that simply broke off diplomatic relations with the Central Powers. Furthermore, she declares, her one delegate has never been invited to attend the sessions of the Conference. She proclaims herself as not averse to the Yugoslav coalition, but wishes this object to be attained by equitable and peaceful means. She wishes, above all, to be freed of the Serbian occupation, and to regain her sovereignty. In this connection she recalls President Wilson's message of Jan.

8, 1917, which included among the conditions of peace the restoration of Montenegro, as well as that of Belgium and Serbia, a promise confirmed by the other allied powers. And lastly she declares that historically, ethnically, linguistically, and economically, Montenegro should be united with Herzegovina, the Mouths of Cattaro, and Scutari.

Yovan S. Plamenatz, the author of the series of pamphlets summarized above, gave in Rome on April 7 an interview which paints a gloomy picture of conditions in Montenegro. After recapitulating the sacrifices of the Montenegrin people during the war, he continued as follows:

After all these sacrifices the Montenegrin people had to undergo the Serbian military invasion. I have not time to describe all the atrocities committed by them, otherwise I would have to talk until tomorrow. I will only tell you of one episode of which I was a witness.

The village of Mirzi, whose only fault was its faithfulness to Montenegro, was surrounded by Serbian troops and set afire. The inhabitants, thus rendered homeless, were driven away, while soldiers pursued them, striking them with the butts of their rifles. Many women had their heads crushed in. Four men were hanged on trees, to terrorize the people. An immense number of houses in Montenegro have been sacked and destroyed, while the Serbians have taken the furniture, food and everything the people possessed. The Serbian aim was to stifle forever the voice of Montenegro.

Our country demands, first of all, the evacuation of the Serbian troops, then the integral restoration of our boundaries.

## Greeks in the Balkans and Asia Minor

### A New Ethnological Map

THE map given herewith was drawn by Professor George Soteriadis of the University of Athens with the object of correcting the "ethnological inaccuracies" of other maps of Greek population in the Balkan Peninsula and Asia Minor. This map takes not language, but what Professor Soteriadis calls "national consciousness," as the only satisfactory criterion of nationality. In accordance with this view, those

portions of the map that comprise Greek populations showing a distinct national feeling of solidarity, irrespective of language, religion or facial angle, are indicated in black. Thus the various scattered localities in Thessaly and Macedonia, where the Vlach dialect is spoken, are not given separate (non-Greek) coloring, but those Koutso-Vlach communities which regard themselves as outposts of the Rumanian Kingdom are regarded





MAP OF GREECE SHOWING—IN THE BLACK AREAS—THE REGIONS DOMINATED BY GREEK POPULATION IN THE BALKANS AND IN ASIA MINOR

as Rumanians, and are not claimed by the Greeks. Other examples of the working out of this diagrammatic principle may be summarized as follows:

1. The Pomaks (Mohammedans speaking a Slavic language) are indicated in the original map by the same color as Turks, their national consciousness being Turkish. Similarly the Cretan Mohammedans are shown as Turkish.

2. A distinction is graphically shown

by this map between Macedonian Slavs to the east of the valley of the Struma who belong to the Orthodox Greek Church (Patriarchate) and those belonging to the Exarchate, (Bulgarian Church;) the same differentiation is shown for the Macedonian Slavs in Western and Central Macedonia. (It should be noted, says Professor Soteriadis, that in Macedonia language is such an inadequate criterion that even Bul-



garian works describe Slav-speaking adherents of the Greek Church as *Grécisants* or *Grécomanes*.)

3. The small Albanian-speaking communities in the Greek provinces of Euboea, Attica, Corinth, Argolis, and Laconia are given the Greek coloring. The linguistic criterion of nationality, explains Professor Soteriadis, is here manifestly untenable. If it were admitted, it would be necessary to deny the Greek nationality of two Ministers in the present Greek Cabinet, for M. Repoules, Vice President of the Council, (from Kranidi,) and Admiral Kunderiotes, Minister of Marine, (from the Island of Hydra,) both of whom speak Albanian; many of the constituents of M. Venizelos, also, in Attica and Boeotia, also speak Albanian, but they have never suggested the election of an Albanian national representative.

4. The district centring about Smyrna in Asia Minor is so emphatically Greek, says Professor Soteriadis, that even the Turks know it as "Giaour Ismir"; the balance of nationalities in Smyrna show 230,000 Greeks as against 90,000 Turks. Here, as elsewhere in Asia Minor, the great concentrations of Greek population are shown by the black areas.

The diagrammatic scheme above outlined, in the opinion of its creator, makes it quite clear that the greater part of the population in Eastern Macedonia, where the Bulgarian population is almost entirely confined to the hill country, is Hellenic.

It should be noted, says Professor Soteriadis, that under Turkish rule the population of that portion of the district of Drama subsequently included within the Greek frontier was 190,975, of whom 46,894 were Greeks and 17,773 Bulgarians; and in the corresponding portion of the district of Seres, 74,545 out of a total population of 164,539 were Greeks and 34,613 Bulgarians, the remainder in each case being, of course, Turks. It is also pointed out that after the Balkan wars the ethnological character of Eastern Macedonia was substantially changed, not only by the emigration of 19,131 adherents of the Exarchate and 33,732 Mohammedans, but also by the settlement of 79,704 Greeks. Thus at the census carried out by the Greek Government in August, 1915, the number of Greeks in Eastern Macedonia had risen to 201,143, while the number of Turks and Bulgarians had fallen to 145,857 and 32,255 respectively.

## Queen Marie of Rumania

Queen Marie of Rumania arrived in Paris on March 5, 1919, on a special train from Bucharest, accompanied by her three daughters, two ladies of honor, and General Ballif, head of her military household. She was received by Paris with respect and admiration, as a woman and a Queen who, through a long period of vicissitude, had shown qualities which made her famous throughout the world.

Edward VII. was her uncle; Queen Victoria her grandmother. She accepted her traditions, and took her responsibilities seriously. In her book, "My Country," which has been translated into French, she calls herself "Queen of a Small Country." Though sabres and silver helmets shone before the royal palace at Bucharest, Queen Marie had no desire to play the rôle of Queen as understood under the old régime. She

visited the houses of the poor and needy. "Irresistibly drawn by the mysterious shadows, I went into the secret hut of clay." All the French officers and soldiers who fought in Rumania have borne witness to her self-sacrifice and devotion.

She helped and comforted many; she saw many die, even her own son, who expired in her arms; she bore her affliction like the other Rumanian mothers, in silence and with stoicism.

In February, 1919, Queen Marie re-entered Bucharest triumphantly, accompanied by King Ferdinand and by General Berthelot. And as the cortège filed in, she remembered the prophetic words of a dying soldier, whose last sufferings she had relieved: "God protect thee, and grant that thou mayest reign again over all the Rumanians!"



# The League Covenant Revised

## Adoption of the New Version by the Peace Conference and Summary of the Changes—Full Revised Text

THE revised covenant of the League of Nations was adopted by the plenary session of the Peace Conference (the seats of the Italian delegation only remaining empty) in the afternoon of April 28, 1919. The presentation of the document in its new and definitive form made the session one of exceptional interest. The adoption was moved by President Wilson, who took up, one by one, the articles that had been changed or added, pointing out the significance of the new or modified passages, after which he continued:

I take the opportunity to move the following resolutions in order to carry out the provisions of the covenant: You will notice that the covenant provides that the first Secretary General shall be chosen by this conference. It also provides that the first choice of the four member States who are to be added to the five great powers on the Council is left to this conference.

I move, therefore, that the first Secretary General of the Council shall be the honorable Sir James Eric Drummond, and, second, that, until such time as the assembly shall have selected the first four members of the League to be represented on the Council in accordance with Article IV. of the covenant, representatives of Belgium, Brazil, Greece, and Spain shall be members, and, third, that the powers to be represented on the Council of the League of Nations are requested to name representatives who shall form a committee of nine to prepare plans for the organization of the League and for the establishment of the seat of the League and to make arrangements and to prepare the agenda for the first meeting of the assembly, this committee to report both to the Council and the Assembly of the League.

Baron Makino for Japan and Léon Bourgeois for France spoke in favor respectively of the racial equality and international army amendments, but these amendments were afterward withdrawn. Premier Clemenceau announced the withdrawal of the amendments, and President Wilson's proposal that the covenant

of the League of Nations be adopted was carried.

Throughout the revision of the covenant its framers had been careful to keep it from providing for the creation of a super-State. After long discussion and some revision it emerged in its new form as a solemn agreement between sovereign nations which consent to limit their freedom of action on certain points for the greater good of the world and themselves. Free consent in future, as well as now, is the keynote of the covenant. It was agreed that hard-and-fast rules were not feasible or desirable. The success of the League must depend upon the public opinion of the world.

The text of the revised draft had been made public at the State Department in Washington on the preceding afternoon by Acting Secretary Frank L. Polk, and had been published simultaneously in the other countries.

### IMPORT OF CHANGES

The more important changes were intended to safeguard the Monroe Doctrine, to remove domestic questions, such as the Japanese immigration issue, from the operations of the League, to permit nations to withdraw from the League upon two years' notice, and to make clear that the rule of unanimity shall control the decisions of the League Council.

All the changes suggested by ex-President Taft were covered in the revision of the covenant. Most of the changes urged by ex-Justice Charles E. Hughes were adopted, but the recommendations of Messrs. Hughes, Root, Knox, and others for a revision of Article X. were not carried out by the commission in charge of the redraft. Article X. is the one in which nations entering the League mutually agree to guarantee the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League



against external aggression. The main essentials of the alterations are given below:

First—The phraseology of the covenant is considered to have been immeasurably improved. Phrases of circumlocution have been rewritten. The document is much clearer.

Second—There is an annex to the revised covenant specifically naming the signatories to the Peace Treaty at Paris which are to be the original members of the League; also naming thirteen other nations, all neutrals, which are invited to accede to the covenant. Germany and the enemy nations are not named as original members of the League, and may only be admitted by a two-thirds vote of the League after giving certain promises and guarantees. Mexico is not asked to become a member of the League.

Third—One criticism of the original covenant was that it contained no provision for withdrawal. This has been met by the insertion of a provision in the new Article I. that any member of the League may withdraw from it after two years' notice, provided it has fulfilled its obligations under the League covenant.

Fourth—Another criticism was that there was no clear showing that the action of the Council of Nine should be unanimous as to decisions. Article V. of the redraft provides that the decisions of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the Council's meeting.

Fifth—The seat of the League is for the first time definitely established at Geneva, but can be moved elsewhere by decision of the Council.

Sixth—All positions under the League are to be open equally to men and women—this also being new.

#### "COUNCIL" AND "ASSEMBLY"

Seventh—The original covenant provided for an "executive council" of nine members, and for a "body of delegates" in which each nation of the League would have representation. The revised covenant provides for a "council" of nine, and changes the name of

the body of delegates to the "assembly."

Eighth—The reduction of armaments provision, in Article VIII., has been not only rewritten, but essentially changed. In this rewriting it is made plain, where it was left to assumption in the original covenant, that the plans for reducing armaments must first be approved and adopted by the several Governments before being put in effect. There is in this article a new paragraph providing that plans for the reduction of armaments "shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years."

Ninth—A provision has been inserted in what is now Article XV. intended to remove domestic questions, such as the Japanese immigration question, which President Wilson considers to be national and not international, from the purview of the decisions of the League. This change provides that "if the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation as to its settlement."

Tenth—Another important new provision in the covenant, found in the final paragraph of Article XVI., stipulates that any League member violating the covenant may be voted out of the League by the Council, if the action is concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented on the Council.

#### MONROE DOCTRINE CLAUSE

Eleventh—The Monroe Doctrine is sought to be safeguarded in an entirely new provision which becomes known as Article XXI. It provides that nothing in the covenant "shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration, or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace."

Twelfth—A very important change has been made in the mandatory section under which neither the United States nor any other nation a member of the



League is to be made a mandatory against its consent.

Thirteenth—Still another wholly new provision takes the form of what is now Article XXV., binding the League members to promote the establishment and co-operation of national Red Cross organizations to improve health, prevent disease and mitigate suffering throughout the world.

Among the changes not enumerated above is one in what is now the 26th, or final, article of the new covenant. The final article of the original covenant provided that amendments to the covenant would take effect when ratified by the States represented on the Executive Council of Nine and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates. The revised covenant provides that amendments will take effect when ratified by the members of the League represented on the Council and by a "majority of the members of the League represented in the Assembly."

#### RESIGNING FROM LEAGUE

In addition, this new paragraph has been added to Article XXVI.: "No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League."

There are three ways in which a nation may cease to be a member of the League:

First—Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

Second—Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other nations of the League represented thereon.

Third—Any member of the League dissenting from an amendment to the League covenant shall cease to be a member of the League.

#### THE ANNEX

The "annex," which names the original members of the League, embraces thirty-two nations or self-governing dominions or colonies which are to be signatories to the treaty of peace and thirteen neutral nations which are to be invited to accede to the covenant, making a total of forty-five nations in all, provided they all join. The British Empire is to be a member, and five of its self-governing dominions or colonies are also named as members—Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India.

From the list of forty-five nations set forth in the annex three of the Pan-American nations are excluded. They are Mexico, Costa Rica, and Santo Domingo. All the other South, Central, or West Indian nations are included. Mexico, Costa Rica, and Santo Domingo cannot be admitted into the League except on the same terms as Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria. Russia is also left out of the list of nations set forth in the annex.

#### PROVISIONAL ORGANIZATION

The provisional organization of the League of Nations took place in Paris on May 5 at a meeting held in the American headquarters at the Hôtel de Crillon. Stephen Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, presided, and Sir Eric Drummond of Great Britain assumed his duties as Secretary General of the League. An official statement issued after the meeting gave the following details:

The Organization Committee of the League of Nations, which was appointed by a resolution of the plenary conference on April 28, held its first meeting at the Hôtel de Crillon at 4 o'clock on Monday, May 5, and agreed on a number of resolutions for the provisional organization of the League.

On motion of Colonel E. M. House of the United States, M. Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, was elected Chairman and Sir Eric Drummond was invited to occupy his seat as Acting Secretary General.

The following were present: M. Pichon, France, Chairman; Colonel E. M. House, United States; Lord Robert Cecil, Great Britain; Marquis Imperial, Italy; Viscount Chinda, Japan; M. Rolin Jacquemyns, Belgium; M. Venizelos, Greece; Señor Gul-



nones de Leon, Spain, and Antonio O. de Magalhaes, Brazil.

In adopting the rules for the temporary organization care was taken by the committee that nothing of a permanent nature should be done previous to the ratification of the peace treaty by the United States Senate.

#### DRUMMOND'S PUBLIC CAREER

Sir (James) Eric Drummond, nominated by President Wilson as first Secretary General of the League of Nations, has been private secretary to Arthur J. Balfour, the British Foreign Secretary, since December, 1916. Previously he had served Sir Edward (now Viscount) Grey in the same capacity while Sir Edward was Foreign Secretary. From March, 1912, to June, 1915, he was private secretary to Herbert H. Asquith, then the British Premier.

Sir Eric was born Aug. 17, 1876, a son of the eighth Viscount Strathallan, and is a half-brother of and heir presumptive to the Earl of Perth. He became a clerk in the Foreign Office in 1900, and from 1906 to 1908 was private secretary to Lord Fitzmaurice, Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and continued under various Under Secretaries until 1912, when he became private secretary to Premier Asquith.

Sir Eric accompanied Mr. Balfour to the United States in 1917 as a member of a British High Commission.

In 1904 Sir Eric married Angela Mary, youngest daughter of the eleventh Baron Herries. They have two daughters and one son. Captain Maldwin Drummond, who married the widow of Marshal Field,

Jr., of Chicago, is a distant relative of Sir Eric. The salary of Sir Eric as Secretary of the League of Nations is to be \$25,000 yearly, with a similar amount for the expenses of the office, including the clerical staff.

#### PUBLIC SENTIMENT

Thirteen State Legislatures in the United States indorsed the League of Nations proposition by concurrent resolution during the sessions of 1919. Seventeen States adopted similar resolutions in 1917 and 1918. Four of these ratified their previous indorsements in 1919. Following is the list of States that have adopted favorable concurrent resolutions:

1919—Arizona, Arkansas, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, Washington, Vermont.

1918—Florida, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, Wisconsin.

1917—Delaware, Georgia, Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas.

Two State Legislatures not included in the list for 1919 approved the League, although not by direct concurrent resolutions. In Missouri the Senate adopted a resolution indorsing the League without reservation. The Missouri House of Representatives declined to ratify this resolution, but adopted one of its own which approved the League provided it did not interfere with national sovereignty and the Constitution. The Massachusetts Legislature adopted a resolution demanding a peace treaty first and the formation of a League afterward.

## Full Text of Revised Covenant of the League of Nations

[Changes From Original Draft Are Indicated in Italics]

#### PREAMBLE

**I**N order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security, by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment

of the understandings of international law as to actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the high contracting parties agree to this covenant of the League of Nations.



[In the original preamble the last sentence read, "adopt this constitution," instead of "agreed to this covenant."]

#### ARTICLE I.

The original members of the League of Nations shall be those of the signatories which are named in the annex to this covenant and also such of those other States named in the annex as shall accede without reservation to this covenant. Such accessions shall be effected by a declaration deposited with the Secretariat within two months of the coming into force of the covenant. Notice thereof shall be sent to all other members of the League.

Any fully self-governing State, dominion, or colony not named in the annex may become a member of the League if its admission is agreed to by two-thirds of the Assembly, provided that it shall give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations, and shall accept such regulations as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its military and naval forces and armaments.

Any member of the League may, after two years' notice of its intention so to do, withdraw from the League, provided that all its international obligations and all its obligations under this covenant shall have been fulfilled at the time of its withdrawal.

[This article embodies the old Article VII. The first paragraph is new. In view of the insertion of the covenant in the peace treaty, specific provision as to the signatories of the treaty, who would become members of the League, and also as to neutral States to be invited to accede to the covenant, were obviously necessary. The paragraph also provides for the method by which a neutral State may accede to the covenant. The third paragraph of Article I. is new, providing for the withdrawal of any member of the League on a notice given of two years. No mention of withdrawal was made in the original document.]

#### ARTICLE II.

The action of the League under this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of an Assembly and of a Council, with a permanent Secretariat.

[Originally this was a part of Article I. It gives the name Assembly to the gathering of representatives of the members of the League, formerly referred to merely as "the body of delegates."]

#### ARTICLE III.

The Assembly shall consist of representatives of the members of the League.

The Assembly shall meet at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, at the seat of the League or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Assembly may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action

of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

At meetings of the Assembly each member of the League shall have one vote, and may have not more than three representatives.

[This embodies parts of the original Articles I., II., and III., with only minor changes. It refers to "members of the League" where the term "high contracting parties" originally was used, and this change is followed throughout the revised draft.]

#### ARTICLE IV.

The Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, of the British Empire, of France, of Italy, and of Japan, together with representatives of four other members of the League. These four members of the League shall be selected by the Assembly from time to time in its discretion. Until the appointment of the representatives of the four members of the League first selected by the Assembly, representatives of (blank) shall be members of the Council.

With the approval of the majority of the Assembly, the Council may name additional members of the League whose representatives shall always be members of the Council; the Council with like approval may increase the number of members of the League to be selected by the Assembly for representation to the Council.

The Council shall meet from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at the seat of the League, or at such other place as may be decided upon.

The Council may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.

Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send a representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interests of that member of the League.

At meetings of the Council each member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote, and may have not more than one representative.

[This embodies that part of the original Article III. designating the original members of the Council. The second paragraph is new, providing for a possible increase in the Council should other powers be added to the League of Nations whose present accession is not anticipated. The two last paragraphs are new, providing specifically for one vote for each member of the League in the Council, which was understood before, and providing also for one representative of each member of the League.]

#### ARTICLE V.

Except where otherwise expressly provided in this covenant, or by the terms of this treaty, decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the members of the League represented at the meeting.



All matters of procedure at meetings of the Assembly or of the Council, the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the Assembly or by the Council and may be decided by a majority of the members of the League represented at the meeting. The first meeting of the Assembly and the first meeting of the Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

*[The first paragraph requiring unanimous agreement in both Assembly and Council, except where otherwise provided, is new. The phrase "or by the terms of this treaty" was an alteration proposed by President Wilson in moving the adoption of the covenant, to make it conform to the peace treaty proviso of a majority vote. The second paragraph was originally included in Article IV.]*

#### ARTICLE VI.

The permanent Secretariat shall be established at the seat of the League. The Secretariat shall comprise a Secretary General and such secretaries and staff as may be required.

The first Secretary General shall be the person named in the annex; thereafter the Secretary General shall be appointed by the Council, with the approval of the majority of the Assembly.

The secretaries and the staff of the Secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General, with the approval of the Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the Assembly and of the Council.

The expenses of the Secretariat shall be borne by the members of the League in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

*[This replaces the original Article V. In the original the appointment of the first Secretary General was left to the Council, and approval of the majority of the Assembly was not required for subsequent appointments.]*

#### ARTICLE VII.

The seat of the League is established at Geneva.

The Council may at any time decide that the seat of the League shall be established elsewhere.

All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women.

Representatives of the members of the League and officials of the League, when engaged on the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities.

The buildings and other property occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall be inviolable.

*[Embodying parts of old Article V. and VI., this article names Geneva instead of leaving the seat of the League to be chosen*

*later, and adds the provision for changing the seat in the future. The third paragraph, opening positions to women equally with men, is new.]*

#### ARTICLE VIII.

The members of the League recognize that the maintenance of a peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with the national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations.

The Council, taking account of the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, shall formulate plans for such reduction for the consideration and action of the several Governments.

Such plans shall be subject to reconsideration and revision at least every ten years.

After these plans shall have been adopted by the several Governments, limits of armaments therein fixed shall not be exceeded without the concurrence of the Council.

The members of the League agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war is open to grave objections. The Council shall advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those members of the League which are not able to manufacture the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military and naval programs and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes.

*[This covers the ground of the original Article VIII., but is rewritten to make it clearer that armament reduction plans must be adopted by the nations affected before they become effective.]*

#### ARTICLE IX.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the Council on the execution of the provisions of Articles I. and VIII. and on military and naval questions generally.

*[Unchanged except for the insertion of the words "Article I."]*

#### ARTICLE X.

The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled.

*[Virtually unchanged.]*

#### ARTICLE XI.

Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League



shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. In case any such emergency should arise, the Secretary General shall, on the request of any member of the League, forthwith summon a meeting of the Council.

It is also declared to be the fundamental right of each member of the League to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstance whatever affecting international relations which threatens to disturb either the peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

*[In the original it was provided that the "high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action," &c., where the revised draft reads, "The League shall take any action."]*

#### ARTICLE XII.

The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture they will submit the matter either to arbitration or an inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the report of the Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

*[Virtually unchanged except that some provisions of the original are eliminated for inclusion in other articles.]*

#### ARTICLE XIII.

The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact, which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration. For the consideration of any such dispute the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties to the dispute or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered and that they will not resort to war against a member of the League which complies therewith. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto.

*[This article shows a few minor changes. But the second sentence is new, inasmuch as it undertakes to give instances of disputes*

*which are generally suitable for submission to arbitration, instances of what have latterly been called "justiciable" questions.]*

#### ARTICLE XIV.

The Council shall formulate and submit to the members of the League for adoption plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. The court shall be competent to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

*[Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence.]*

#### ARTICLE XV.

If there should arise between members of the League any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties to the dispute will communicate to the Secretary General, as promptly as possible, statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers; the Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

The Council shall endeavor to effect a settlement of any dispute, and if such efforts are successful, a statement shall be made public, giving such facts and explanations regarding the dispute and terms of settlement thereof as the Council may deem appropriate.

If the dispute is not thus settled, the Council either unanimously or by a majority vote shall make and publish a report containing a statement of the facts of the dispute and the recommendations which are deemed just and proper in regard thereto.

Any member of the League represented on the Council may make public a statement of the facts of the dispute and of the conclusions regarding the same.

If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with the recommendations of the report.

If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof, other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice.

If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by interna-



tional law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report and shall make no recommendations as to its settlement.

The Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the Assembly. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute to the Council.

In any case referred to the Assembly all the provisions of this article and of Article XII. relating to the action and powers of the Council shall apply to the action and powers of the Assembly, provided that a report made by the Assembly, if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council and of a majority of the other members of the League, exclusive in each case of the representatives of the parties to the dispute, shall have the same force as a report by the Council concurred in by all the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute.

*[The seventh paragraph specifically excluding matters of "domestic jurisdiction" from action by the Council is new. In the last sentence the words "if concurred in by the representatives of those members of the League represented on the Council," etc., have been added.]*

#### ARTICLE XVI.

Should any member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Articles XII., XIII., or XV., it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other members of the League, which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State, and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military or naval forces the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armaments of forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The members of the League agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which are taken under this article, in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will take the necessary steps to afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the members of the League

which are co-operating to protect the covenants of the League.

Any member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a member of the League by a vote of the Council concurred in by the representatives of all the other members of the League represented thereon.

*[Unchanged except for the addition of the last sentence, providing for an expulsion from the League under certain extraordinary circumstances.]*

#### ARTICLE XVII.

In the event of a dispute between a member of the League and a State which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Council may deem just. If such invitation is accepted, the provisions of Articles XII. to XVI., inclusive, shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the Council.

Upon such invitation being given, the Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

If a State so invited shall refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, and shall resort to war against a member of the League, the provisions of Article XVI. shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute, when so invited, refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, the Council may take such measures and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

*[Virtually unchanged.]*

#### ARTICLE XVIII.

Every convention or international engagement entered into henceforward by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat, and shall, as soon as possible, be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

*[Same as original Article XXIII.]*

#### ARTICLE XIX.

The Assembly may, from time to time, advise the reconsideration by members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable, and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world.

*[Virtually the same as original Article XXIV.]*

#### ARTICLE XX.

The members of the League severally agree



that this covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations or understandings inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly undertake that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof.

In case a member of the League shall, before becoming a member of the League, have undertaken any obligations inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such member to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

[*Virtually the same as original Article XXV.*]

#### ARTICLE XXI.

Nothing in this covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine for securing the maintenance of peace [*Entirely new.*]

#### ARTICLE XXII.

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them, and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization, and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this covenant.

The best method of giving practicable effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples be intrusted to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic condition and other similar circumstances. Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military

training of the natives for other than police purposes, and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population or their small size or their remoteness from the centres of civilization or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the mandatory and other circumstances can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population. In every case of mandate, the mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the mandatory, if not previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

[*This is the original Article XIX., virtually unchanged, except for the insertion of the words "and who are willing to accept," in describing nations to be given mandates, thus explicitly introducing the principle that a mandate cannot be forced upon a nation unwilling to accept it.*]

#### ARTICLE XXIII.

Subject to and in accordance with the provisions of international conventions existing or hereafter to be agreed upon, the members of the League (a) will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend, and for that purpose will establish and maintain the necessary international organizations; (b) undertake to secure just treatment of the native inhabitants of territories under their control; (c) will intrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the traffic in women and children, and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; (d) will intrust the League with the general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest; (e) will make provision to secure and maintain freedom of communication and of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all members of the League. In this connection the special necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-18 shall be in mind; (f) will endeavor to take steps in matters of international concern for the prevention and control of disease.



[This replaces the original Article XX., and embodies parts of the original Articles XVIII. and XXI. It eliminates a specific provision formerly made for a bureau of labor and adds the clauses (b) (c) and (f) respectively providing for the just treatment of aborigines, prevention of the white slave traffic and the traffic in opium, and looking toward progress in international prevention and control of disease.]

## ARTICLE XXIV.

There shall be placed under the direction of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties if the parties to such treaties consent. All such international bureaus and all commissions for the regulation of matters of international interest hereafter constituted shall be placed under the direction of the League.

In all matters of international interest which are regulated by general conventions, but which are not placed under the control of international bureaus or commissions, the Secretariat of the League shall, subject to the consent of the Council and if desired by the parties, collect and distribute all relevant information and shall render any other assistance which may be necessary or desirable.

The Council may include as part of the expenses of the Secretariat the expenses of any bureau or commission which is placed under the direction of the League.

[Same as Article XXII. in the original, with the matter after the first two sentences added.]

## ARTICLE XXV.

The members of the League agree to encourage and promote the establishment and co-operation of duly authorized voluntary national Red Cross organizations having as purposes the improvement of health, the prevention of disease, and the mitigation of suffering throughout the world.

[Entirely new.]

## ARTICLE XXVI.

Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the members of the League whose representatives compose the Council and by a majority of the members of the League whose representatives compose the Assembly.

No such amendment shall bind any member of the League which signifies its dissent therefrom, but in that case it shall cease to be a member of the League.

[Same as the original, except that a majority of the League instead of three-fourths is required for ratification of amendments, although it does not change the requirement in that matter with regard to the vote in the Council. The second paragraph is also new, and was added at the request of the Brazilian delegation, in order to avoid certain constitutional difficulties. It permits any member of the League to dissent from an amendment, the effect of such dissent being withdrawal from the League.]

## ANNEX TO THE COVENANT.

I. Original members of the League of Nations.

*Signatories of the Treaty of Peace:*

United States of America, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, British Empire, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, China, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Hedjaz, Honduras, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Slam, Uruguay.

*States invited to accede to the covenant:*

Argentine Republic, Chile, Colombia, Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Venezuela.

II. First Secretary General of the League of Nations: [Sir Eric Drummond.]

[The annex, also a later addition, was not published with the original draft of the covenant.]

## Making Historical Records on the Battlefield

Early in the war Canada set the example of how to glean history from the débris of the battlefield. Photography, sketching, and painting had a large share in the task of recording the war, France having set an example for pictorial efficiency with its Mission des Beaux Arts. Up and down the front among the Canadian battalions went special officers, giving instructions to battalion headquarters how to write their official war diaries, which were supposed to be accurate chronicles of the doings of the battalion month by month. When a big event occurred the battalions concerned chronicled their part in it, the narrative being signed by the commanding officer. Then the diaries were sent to headquarters, where they were filed, tabulated, and preserved by the historical section



# International Labor Program

## Clauses in Peace Treaty Establishing a Permanent Labor Office—Text of Commission's Report

THE recommendations of the Labor Commission of the Peace Conference, composed of delegates from nine nations,\* were presented to the Peace Conference on April 11, 1919, and were later made an integral part of the peace treaty. These labor clauses provide a method whereby a permanent World Labor Office is to be established under the League of Nations, and annual conventions are to be called to secure legislation affecting wage earners. The physical safeguarding of future generations is insured by measures intended to establish a maximum work-day and to press upon all nations, on economic grounds, the protection of women and children from exploitation.

The commission agreed to ask the United States to call the first annual meeting of the Labor Conference at Washington in October, 1919. The International Organizing Committee for the convention will consist of seven members, appointed by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Belgium, and Switzerland. The committee may, if it thinks necessary, invite other States to appoint representatives.

President Wilson cabled to Secretary Tumulty on May 2:

The labor program which the Conference of Peace has adopted as a part of the treaty of peace constitutes one of the most important achievements of the new day in which the interests of labor are to be

systematically and intelligently safeguarded and promoted. Amid the multitude of other interests this great step forward is apt to be overlooked, and yet no other single thing that has been done will help more to stabilize conditions of labor throughout the world and ultimately relieve the unhappy conditions which in too many places have prevailed. Personally, I regard this as one of the most gratifying achievements of the conference.

The Labor Commission, of which Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, is Chairman, drew up the accepted conclusions in two parts. The first part was a draft convention providing for a permanent world labor conference to be linked with the League of Nations. The second was in the shape of declarations of principle regarding the rights of workers the world over. Both parts, the first providing the mechanism for the functioning of the International Labor bodies, and the second enunciating permanent principles to govern the conditions of International Labor, were accepted by the Peace Conference, and incorporated in the treaty.

### OFFICIAL INTRODUCTION

An introduction signed by President Gompers, General Secretary Fontaine, and Assistant General Secretary Butler gives the following explanation of the Commission's conclusion:

Chapter I. provides the machinery of the permanent organization proposed. In the first place, it is stipulated that participation

\*The Peace Conference Commission on International Labor Legislation was composed as follows:

United States—Samuel Gompers and A. I. Hurley; substitutes, H. M. Robinson and Dr. J. T. Shotwell.

British Empire—G. V. Barnes, M. P., and Sir Malcolm Delevingne; substitute, H. B. Butler.

France—M. Colliard and M. Loucheur; substitutes, Arthur Fontaine and Leon Jouhaux.

Italy—Baron Mayor des Planches and Signor Cabrini; substitute, Signor Coletti.

Japan—Ambassador Otchial and Mr. Oka.

Belgium—M. Vandervelde and Professor Mahaim; substitute, Senator La Fontaine.

Cuba—Professor de Bustamante; substitutes, Raphael Martinez Ortiz, Mr. de Blanck.

Poland—Stanislas Patek; substitutes, Francois Sokal.

Czechoslovak Republic—Rudolph Bro.

The following were appointed officers of the commission:

President, Samuel Gompers; Vice Presidents, G. N. Barnes and M. Colliard; General Secretary, Arthur Fontaine; Assistant General Secretary, H. B. Butler; Secretaries, Baron Capelle (substitute, Count de Grunne.) Belgium; di Palma Castibione, Italy; Mr. Oyster, U. S. A.; Mr. Yoshisaka, Japan.



in this organization shall be a condition of membership of the League of Nations, since every State member of the league is morally bound to accept the principles set forth in the preamble if it has really at heart the promotion of the cause of justice and humanity.

The organization itself is divided into two arts: 1. The International Labor Conference; 2. The International Labor Office, controlled by a governing body.

The International Labor Conference will meet at least annually and will consist of delegates nominated by each of the high contracting parties, two of whom will be directly appointed by the Governments, and the other two will be chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations representative of their employers and workpeople respectively. Each delegate will vote individually. It was felt by the commission that if the conference was to be representative of all those concerned with industry and to command their confidence, the employers and workpeople must be allowed to express their views with frankness and freedom, and that a departure from the traditional procedure of units was therefore necessary.

It was accordingly thought that the employers' and workpeople's delegates should be entitled to speak and vote independently of their Governments.

### GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATION

Some difference of opinion made itself felt on the commission as to the relative numbers of the delegates representing the Governments, the employers and the workpeople respectively. The French, American, Italian, and Cuban delegations contended that each of these three parties should have equal voting power. They maintained that the working classes would never be satisfied with a representation which left the Government and the employers combined in a majority of three to their one.

In other words, the proposal amounted to giving the States a veto on the proceedings of the conference, which would create so much distrust of it among the workers that its influence would be seriously prejudiced from the start.

This view was contested by the British, Belgian, and other delegations, who pointed out that as the conference was not simply an assembly for the purpose of passing resolutions, but would draw up draft conventions which the States would have to present to their legislative authorities, it was essential that the Governments should have at least an equal voice. Otherwise it might often happen that conventions adopted by a two-thirds majority of the conference would be rejected by the Legislatures of the various States, which would have the effect of rendering the proceedings of the conference nugatory and would quickly destroy its influence and prestige.

The adoption of a proposal to which the majority of the Governments were opposed would not lead to any practical results, as the legislative authorities of the Governments whose delegates were in the minority would in all probability refuse to accept it.

Moreover, it was likely—especially in the future—that the Government delegates would vote more often with the workers than against them. If this were so, it was obviously to the advantage of the latter that the Governments should have two votes instead of one, as it would render it easier for them to obtain a two-thirds majority, which, under the Franco-American proposal, would be practically impossible if the employers voted in a body against them.

### GIVES NATIONS TWO VOTES

The commission finally decided by a narrow majority to maintain the proposal that each Government should have two delegates.

The Italian delegation, which united with the French delegation in urging the importance of securing representation for agricultural interests, was to some extent reconciled to the above decision by the consideration that, as the Governments would have two delegates, it would be easier to secure such representation as different technical advisers may be appointed for each subject of discussion. Agricultural advisers may be selected when necessary.

The International Labor Office will be established at the seat of the League of Nations, as part of its administrative organization. It will be controlled by a governing body of twenty-four members, the composition of which is provided for in the protocol to Article VII.

Like the conference, the governing body will consist of representatives of the Governments, employers, and workpeople. It will include twelve representatives of the Governments, eight of whom will be nominated by the States of chief industrial importance, and the remaining twelve will consist of six members nominated by the employers' delegates to the conference, and six nominated by the workers' delegates.

### OBLIGATIONS OF STATES

Chapter 2 of the convention contains one article of vital importance, Article 19, which treats of the obligations of the States concerned in regard to the adoption and ratification of draft conventions agreed upon by the International Conference.

The original draft proposed that any draft convention adopted by the conference by a two-thirds majority must be ratified by every State participating, unless within one year the national Legislature should have expressed its disapproval of the draft convention.

This implied an obligation on every State to submit any draft convention approved by the conference to its national Legislature within one year, whether its own Govern-



ment representatives had voted in favor of its adoption or not.

This provision was inspired by the belief that although the time had not yet come when anything in the nature of an international Legislature whose decisions should be binding on the different States was possible, yet it was essential for the progress of international labor legislation to require the Governments to give their national Legislatures the opportunity of expressing their opinion on the measures favored by a two-thirds majority of the Labor Conference.

The French and Italian delegations, on the other hand, desired that States should be under an obligation to ratify conventions so adopted, whether their legislative authorities approved them or not, subject to a right of appeal to the Executive Council of the League of Nations. The council might invite the conference to reconsider its decision, and in the event of its being reaffirmed there would be no further right of appeal.

Other delegations, though not unsympathetic to the hope expressed in the first resolution printed at the end of the draft convention—that in course of time the Labor Conference might, through the growth of a spirit of internationality, acquire the powers of a truly legislative international assembly—felt that the time for such a development was not ripe.

If an attempt were made at this stage to deprive States of a large measure of their sovereignty in regard to labor legislation, the result would be that a considerable number of States would either refuse to accept the present convention altogether or, if they accepted it, would subsequently denounce it, and might even prefer to resign their membership in the League of Nations rather than jeopardize their national economic position by being obliged to carry out the decisions of the International Labor Conference.

The majority of the commission therefore decided in favor of making ratification of a convention subject to the approval of the national Legislatures or other competent authorities.

### AMERICANS TAKE OTHER VIEWS

The American delegation, however, found themselves unable to accept the obligations implied in the British draft on account of the limitations imposed on the central executive and legislative powers by the Constitution of certain Federal States, and notably of the United States themselves. They pointed out that the Federal Government could not accept the obligation to ratify conventions dealing with matters within the competence of the forty-eight States of the Union, with which the power of labor legislation for the most part rested.

Further, the Federal Government could not guarantee that the constituent States, even if they passed the necessary legislation to give effect to a convention, would put it into

effective operation, nor could it provide against the possibility of such legislation being declared unconstitutional by the supreme judicial authorities.

The Government could not, therefore, engage to do something which was not within its power to perform and the nonperformance of which would render them liable to complaint.

The commission felt that they were here faced by a serious dilemma, which threatened to make the establishment of any real system of international labor legislation impossible.

### SOLUTION AGREED UPON

The commission spent a considerable amount of time in attempting to devise a way out of this dilemma. Article 19, as now drafted, represents a solution found by a sub-commission consisting of representatives of the American, British, and Belgian delegations specially appointed to consider the question.

It provides that the decisions of the Labor Conference may take the form either of recommendations or of draft conventions. Either must be deposited with the Secretary General of the League of Nations and each State undertakes to bring it within one year before its competent authorities for the enactment of legislation or other action. If no legislation or other action to make a recommendation effective follows, or if a draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the competent authorities concerned, no further obligation will rest on the State in question.

In the case of a Federal State, however, whose power to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, its Government may treat a draft convention to which such limitations apply as a recommendation only.

Subjects will probably come before the conference which, owing to their complexity and the wide differences in the circumstances of different countries, will be incapable of being reduced to any universal and uniform mode of application. In such cases a convention might prove impossible, but a recommendation of principles in more or less detail which left the individual States freedom to apply them in the manner best suited to their conditions would undoubtedly have considerable value.

### RIGHTS OF FEDERAL STATES

The exception in the case of Federal States is of greater importance. It places the United States and States which are in a similar position under a less degree of obligation than other States in regard to draft conventions. But it will be observed that the exception extends only to those Federal States which are subject to limitations in respect of their treaty-making powers on labor matters and that it extends only in so far as those limitations apply in any particular case.



Attention should be drawn to the protocol to Article 19. The fear was expressed that the article might be interpreted as implying that a State would be required to diminish the protection already afforded to the workers by its legislation as a result of the adoption of a recommendation or draft convention by the conference. In consequence the protocol was added in order to make it quite clear that such an interpretation was inadmissible.

It should be added that the Japanese delegation abstained from voting on Article 19, as they had not yet received instructions from their Government in the matter. The Italian delegation also abstained on the ground of the inadequacy of the powers given to the conference.

Chapter II. Enforcement—Articles 22 to 34—These articles provide machinery whereby a State which fails to carry out its obligations arising under Article 19, or which fails to enforce a convention which it has ratified, may be made subject to economic measures. This machinery is briefly as follows:

An industrial association of employers and workpeople may make representations to the International Labor Office which the governing body may, at its discretion, communicate to the State complained of for its observations. If no satisfactory reply is received, the governing body may publish the correspondence, which in most cases will probably create sufficient pressure by public opinion to cause the complaint to be remedied.

#### METHOD OF COMPLAINT

The governing body also has the power, either on its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a Government or from a delegate to the conference, to apply to the Secretary General of the League of Nations to nominate a Commission of Inquiry. For the purpose of such inquiries each high contracting party undertakes to nominate one employer, one workman, and one person of independent standing, and each commission shall consist of one person drawn from each of these three categories.

The commission will report on the facts, recommend the steps which should be taken to meet the complaint and indicate the economic measures, if any, which it considers would be appropriate in the event of the condition complained of not being remedied.

Appeal may be made to the permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations, which shall have the power to review the findings of the commission. If the defaulting State fails to carry out the recommendations of the commission or the permanent court, as the case may be, within the specified time, it will then be open to the other States to take the economic measures indicated against it.

It will be seen that the above procedure has been carefully devised in order to avoid the imposition of penalties, except in the last

resort, when a State has flagrantly and persistently refused to carry out its obligations under a convention.

The representatives of the working classes in some countries have pressed their delegates to urge more drastic provisions in regard to penalties. The commission, while taking the view that will in the long run be preferable as well as more effective to rely on the pressure of international public opinion rather than on economic measures, nevertheless considers it necessary to retain the possibility of the latter in the background.

Chapter III. does not call for much comment, but attention should perhaps be drawn to the provisions of Article 35, which provides that the British dominions and India and any colonies or possessions of any State which may hereafter be recognized as fully self-governing by the Executive Council of the League of Nations shall have the same rights and obligations under the convention as if they were separate high contracting parties.

It seemed evident to the commission that colonies which were fully self-governing, not only as regards labor legislation, but generally, must be regarded as separate entities for the purposes of the Labor Conference, but it was decided that a State and its self-governing colonies should not have more than one seat in the governing body.

In the case of colonies which are not fully self-governing the mother country undertakes the obligation to apply labor conventions to them unless local conditions render it impossible to apply them either wholly or in part.

The Italian delegation proposed that all nations should be admitted to the conference immediately after the signature of the peace treaty, but the commission confined itself to passing the second resolution attached to the draft convention.

In conclusion it should be remarked that after a long discussion on the question of adopting certain measures in the interest of seamen the commission thought that the adoption of the very special questions concerning the minimum conditions to be accorded to seamen might be dealt with at a special meeting of the International Labor Conference devoted exclusively to the affairs of seamen, at which the delegates and technical advisers could accordingly be chosen from the shipping community.

#### TWO-THIRDS VOTE RULED

Proposals were placed before the commission by the Italian, French, American, Belgian, and British delegations as to the declarations which should be made. The commission decided that no declaration should be submitted to the Peace Conference unless it were adopted by a two-thirds majority, and it now submits nine declarations, all of which obtained a majority, and some of which were adopted unanimously.

It should be added that a majority, but not a two-thirds majority, was obtained for



a proposal couched in very general terms which suggested the application to agriculture of the general principles of labor legis-

lation, and which arose out of an Italian proposal in regard to the limitation of the hours of work in agriculture.

## Text of Draft Convention to Govern World's Labor

### PART I. PREAMBLE

In a preamble to the articles of the draft convention the commission declares that:

Whereas, The League of Nations has for its object the establishment of universal peace, and such a peace can be established only if it is based upon social justice; and,

Whereas, Conditions of labor exist involving such injustice, hardship, and privation to large numbers of people as to produce unrest so great that the peace and harmony of the world are imperiled, and an improvement of those conditions is urgently required, as, for example:

By the regulation of the hours of work, including the establishment of a maximum working day and week.

The regulation of the labor supply.

The prevention of unemployment.

The provision of an adequate living wage.

The protection of the worker against sickness, disease, and injury arising out of his employment.

The protection of children, young persons, and women; provision for old age and injury.

Protection of the interests of workers when employed in countries other than their own.

Recognition of the principle of freedom of association.

The organization of technical and vocational education and other measures.

And Whereas, also, The failure of any nation to adopt humane conditions of labor is an obstacle in the way of other nations which desire to improve the conditions of their own countries—

The high contracting parties, moved by sentiments of justice and humanity, as well as by the desire to secure the permanent peace of the world, agree to the following convention:

### CHAPTER I.—ORGANIZATION

**Article 1**—The high contracting parties, being the States members of the League of Nations, do hereby decide to establish a permanent organization for the promotion of the objects set forth in the preamble, and for this purpose hereby accept the provisions contained in the following articles.

**Art. 2**—The permanent organization shall consist of a General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties and an International Labor Office, controlled by the governing body described in Article 7.

**Art. 3**—The meetings of the General Conference of representatives of the high contracting parties shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once in every year. It shall be composed of four representatives of each of the high contracting parties, of whom two shall be Government delegates and the two others shall be delegates representing respectively the employers and the workpeople of each of the high contracting parties.

Each delegate may be accompanied by advisers, who shall not exceed two in number for each item on the agenda of the meeting. When questions specially affecting women are to be considered by the conference, one at least of the advisers should be a woman.

The high contracting parties undertake to nominate non-Government delegates and advisers chosen in agreement with the industrial organizations, if such organizations exist, which are most representative of employers or work people, in their respective countries.

Each delegate may be accompanied at each sitting of the conference by not more than two advisers. The advisers shall not speak except on a request made by the delegate whom they accompany and by the special authorization of the President of the conference, and may not vote.

A delegate may, in writing addressed to the President, appoint one of his advisers to act as his deputy, and the adviser, while so acting, shall be allowed to speak and vote.

The names of the delegates and their advisers will be communicated to the international labor office by the Government of each of the high contracting parties.

The credentials of delegates and their advisers shall be subject to scrutiny by the conference, which may, by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, refuse to admit any delegate or advisers whom it deems not to have been nominated in accordance with the undertaking contained in this article.

**Art. 4**—Every delegate shall be entitled to vote individually on all matters which are taken into consideration by the conference.

If one of the high contracting parties fails to nominate one of the non-Government dele-



gates whom it is entitled to nominate, the other non-Government delegate shall be allowed to sit and speak at the conference, but not to vote.

If, in accordance with Article 3, the conference refuses admission to a delegate of one of the high contracting parties, the provisions of the present article shall apply as if that delegate had not been nominated.

**Art. 5**—The meetings of the conference shall be held at the seat of the League of Nations, or at such other place as may be decided by the conference at a previous meeting by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present.

**Art. 6**—The International Labor Office shall be established at the seat of the League of Nations as part of the organization of the League.

**Art. 7**—The International Labor Office shall be under the control of a governing body, consisting of twenty-four members, appointed in accordance with the provisions of the protocol hereto.

The governing body shall from time to time elect one of its members to act as its Chairman, shall regulate its own proceedings, and shall fix its own times of meeting. A special meeting shall be held if a written request to that effect is made by at least ten members.

**Art. 8**—There shall be a director of the International Labor Office, appointed by the governing body, who shall be subject to the instructions of the governing body, be responsible for the efficient conduct of the International Labor Office, and for such other duties as may be assigned to him. The director or his deputy shall attend all meetings of the governing body.

**Art. 9**—The staff of the International Labor Office shall be appointed by the director, who shall, so far as is possible with due regard to the efficiency of the work of the office, select persons of different nationalities. A certain number of these should be women.

**Art. 10**—The functions of the International Labor Office shall include the collection and distribution of information on all subjects relating to the international adjustment of conditions of industrial life and labor, and particularly the examination of subjects which it is proposed to bring before the conference with a view to the conclusion of international conventions, and the conduct of such special investigations as may be ordered by the conference.

It will prepare the agenda for the meetings of the conference.

It will carry out the duties required of it by the provisions of this convention in connection with international disputes.

It will edit and publish a periodical paper in the French and English languages, and in such other languages as the governing body may think desirable, dealing with problems of industry and employment of international interest.

Generally, in addition to the functions set out in this article, it shall have such other functions, powers, and duties as may be assigned to it by the conference.

**Art. 11**—The Government departments of any of the high contracting parties which deal with questions of industry and employment may communicate directly with the director through the representative of their State on the governing body of the International Labor Office, or failing any such representative, through such other qualified official as the Government may nominate for the purpose.

**Art. 12**—The International Labor Office shall be entitled to the assistance of the Secretary General of the League of Nations in any matter in which it can be given.

**Art. 13**—Each of the high contracting parties will pay the traveling and subsistence expenses of its delegates and their advisers and of its representatives attending the meetings of the conference or governing body, as the case may be.

All the other expenses of the International Labor Office and of the meetings of the conference or governing body shall be paid to the director by the Secretary General of the League of Nations out of the general funds of the League.

The director shall be responsible to the Secretary General of the League for the proper expenditure of all moneys paid to him in pursuance of this article.

## CHAPTER II.—PROCEDURE

**Art. 14**—The agenda for all meetings of the conference will be settled by the governing body, who shall consider any suggestion as to the agenda that may be made by the Government of any of the high contracting parties or by any representative organization recognized for the purpose of Article 3.

**Art. 15**—The Director shall act as the Secretary of the conference, and shall circulate the agenda to reach the high contracting parties, and through them the non-Government delegates when appointed, four months before the meeting of the conference.

**Art. 16**—Any of the Governments of the high contracting parties may formally object to the inclusion of any item or items in the agenda. The grounds for such objection shall be set forth in a reasoned statement addressed to the Director, who shall circulate it to all the high contracting parties. Items to which such objection has been made shall not, however, be excluded from the agenda if at the conference a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present is in favor of considering them.

If the conference decides—otherwise than under the preceding paragraph—by two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present that any subject shall be considered by the conference, that subject shall be included in the agenda for the following meeting.

**Art. 17**—The conference shall regulate its own procedure, shall elect its own President,



and may appoint committees to consider and report on any matter.

Except as otherwise expressly provided in this convention, all matters shall be decided by a simple majority of the votes cast by the delegates present.

A vote shall be void unless the total number of votes cast is equal to half the number of delegates attending the conference.

**Art. 18**—The conference may add to any committees which it appoints technical experts, who shall be assessors without power to vote.

**Art. 19**—When the conference has decided on the adoption of proposals with regard to an item in the agenda, it will rest with the conference to determine whether these proposals should take the form:

A—Of a recommendation to be submitted to the high contracting parties for consideration with a view to its being given effect by national legislation or otherwise. Or,

B—Of a draft international convention for ratification by the high contracting parties.

In either case a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall be necessary on the final vote for the adoption of the recommendation or draft convention, as the case may be, by the conference.

A copy of the recommendation or draft convention shall be authenticated by the signature of the President of the conference and of the Director, and shall be deposited with the Secretary General of the League of Nations. The Secretary General will communicate a certified copy of the recommendation or draft convention to each of the high contracting parties.

Each of the high contracting parties undertakes that it will, within the period of one year at most from the end of the meeting of the conference, bring the recommendation or draft convention before the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, for the enactment of legislation or other action.

In the case of a recommendation the high contracting parties will inform the Secretary General of the action taken.

In the case of a draft convention the high contracting party will, if it obtains the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, communicate the formal ratification of the convention to the Secretary General, and will take such action as may be necessary to make effective the provisions of such convention.

If on a recommendation no legislative or other action to make such recommendation effective is taken, or if the draft convention fails to obtain the consent of the authority or authorities within whose competence the matter lies, no further obligation shall rest upon the high contracting party.

In the case of a federal State, the power of which to enter into conventions on labor matters is subject to limitations, it shall be in the discretion of the Government of such State to treat a draft convention to which

such limitations apply as a recommendation only, and the provisions of this article with respect to recommendations shall apply in such case.

**Art. 20**—Any convention so ratified shall be registered by the Secretary General of the League of Nations, but shall only be binding upon the States which ratify it, subject to any conditions which may be contained in the convention itself.

**Art. 21**—If any convention laid before the conference for final consideration fails to secure the support of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present, it shall nevertheless be within the right of any of the high contracting parties to agree to such convention among themselves.

Any convention so agreed to shall be communicated by the Governments of the States concerned to the Secretary General of the League of Nations, who shall register it.

**Art. 22**—Each of the high contracting parties agrees to make an annual report to the International Labor Office on the measures which it has taken to give effect to the provisions of conventions to which it is a party. These reports shall be made in such form and shall contain such particulars as the governing body may request. The Director shall lay a summary of these reports before the next meeting of the conference.

**Art. 23**—In the event of any representation being made to the International Labor Office by an industrial association of employers or of workpeople that any of the high contracting parties has failed to secure in any respect the effective observance within its jurisdiction of any convention to which it is a party the governing body may communicate this representation to the State against which it is made and may invite that State to make such statement on the subject as it may think fit.

**Art. 24**—If no statement is received within a reasonable time from the State against which the representation is made, or if the statement when received is not deemed to be satisfactory by the governing body, the latter shall have the right to publish the representation and the statement, if any, made in reply to it.

**Art. 25**—Any of the high contracting parties shall have the right to file a complaint with the International Labor Office if it is not satisfied that any other of the high contracting parties is securing the effective observance of any convention which both have ratified in accordance with the foregoing articles.

The growing body may, if it thinks fit, before referring such a complaint to a Commission of Inquiry, as hereinafter provided for, communicate with the State against which the complaint is made in the manner described in Article 23.

If the governing body do not think it necessary to communicate the complaint to the State against which it is made, or if, when they have made such communication, no statement in reply has been received within



a reasonable time, which the governing body considers to be satisfactory, the governing body may apply for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry to consider the complaint and to report thereon.

The governing body may adopt the same procedure either of its own motion or on receipt of a complaint from a delegate to the conference.

When any matter arising out of Articles 24 or 25 is being considered by the governing body, the State against which the representation or complaint is made shall, if not already represented thereon, be entitled to send a representative to take part in the proceedings of the governing body while the matter is under consideration. Adequate notice of the date on which the matter will be considered shall be given to the State against which the representation or complaint is made.

**Art. 26**—The Commission of Inquiry shall be constituted in accordance with the following provisions:

Each of the high contracting parties agrees to nominate, within six months of the date on which this convention comes into force, three persons of industrial experience, of whom one shall be a representative of employers, one a representative of workpeople, and one a person of independent standing, who shall together form a panel from which the members of the Commission of Inquiry shall be drawn.

The qualifications of the persons so nominated shall be subject to scrutiny by the governing body, which may by two-thirds of the votes cast by the members present refuse to accept the nomination of any person whose qualifications do not in its opinion comply with the requirements of the present article.

Upon the application of the governing body, the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall nominate three persons, one from each section of this panel, to constitute the Commission of Inquiry and shall designate one of them as the President of the commission. None of these three persons shall be a person nominated to the panel by any State directly concerned in the complaint.

**Art. 27**—The high contracting parties agree that, in the event of the reference of a complaint to a Commission of Inquiry under Article 25, they will each, whether directly concerned in the complaint or not, place at the disposal of the commission all the information in their possession which bears upon the subject-matter of the complaint.

**Art. 28**—When the Commission of Inquiry has fully considered the complaint, it shall prepare a report embodying its findings on all questions of fact relevant to determining the issue between the parties and containing such recommendations as it may think proper to meet the complaint and the time within which they should be taken.

It shall also indicate in this report the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers

to be appropriate and which it considers other States would be justified in adopting.

**Art. 29**—The Secretary General of the League of Nations shall communicate the report of the Commission of Inquiry to each of the States concerned in the complaint and shall cause it to be published.

Each of these States shall within one month inform the Secretary General of the League of Nations whether or not it accepts the recommendations contained in the report of the commission, and if not, whether it proposes to refer the complaint to the permanent Court of International Justice of the League of Nations.

**Art. 30**—In the event of any of the high contracting parties failing to take within the specified period the action required by Article 19, any other of the high contracting parties shall be entitled to refer the matter to the permanent Court of International Justice.

**Art. 31**—The decision of the Supreme Court of International Justice to which a complaint has been referred shall be final.

**Art. 32**—The permanent Court of International Justice may affirm, vary or reverse any of the findings or recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, if any, and shall in its decision indicate the measures, if any, of an economic character against a defaulting State which it considers to be appropriate, and which other States would be justified in adopting.

**Art. 33**—In the event of any State failing to carry out within the time specified the recommendations, if any, contained in the report of the Committee of Inquiry, or in the decision of the permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, any other State may take against that State the measures of an economic character indicated in the report of the commission or in the decision of the court as appropriate to the case.

**Art. 34**—The defaulting State may at any time inform the governing body that it has taken the steps necessary to comply with the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry or in the decision of the permanent Court of International Justice, as the case may be, and may request it to apply to the Secretary General of the League to constitute a Commission of Inquiry to verify its contention. In this case the provisions of Articles 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, and 32 shall apply, and if the report of the Commission of Inquiry or decision of the permanent Court of International Justice is in favor of the defaulting State, the other States shall forthwith discontinue the measures of an economic character that they have taken against the defaulting State.

### CHAPTER III.—GENERAL

**Art. 35**—The British dominions and India shall have the same rights and obligations under this convention as if they were separate high contracting parties.

The same shall apply to any colony or pos-



session of any of the high contracting parties which on the application of such high contracting party is recognized as fully self-governing by the Executive Council of the League of Nations.

The high contracting parties engage to apply conventions which they have ratified in accordance with the provisions of the present convention to their colonies, protectorates, and possessions, which are not fully self-governing:

1. Except where owing to the local conditions the convention is inapplicable, or,
2. Subject to such modifications as may be necessary to adapt the convention to local conditions.

And each of the high contracting parties shall notify to the International Labor Office the action taken in respect of each of its colonies, protectorates, and possessions which are not fully self-governing.

**Art. 36**—Any State not a party to this convention which may hereafter become a member of the League of Nations shall be deemed ipso facto to have adhered to this convention.

**Art. 37**—Amendments to this convention which are adopted by the conference by a majority of two-thirds of the votes cast by the delegates present shall take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council of the League of Nations and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates of the League.

**Art. 38**—Any question or dispute relating to the interpretation of this convention or of any subsequent convention concluded by the high contracting parties in pursuance of the provisions of this convention shall be referred for decision to the permanent Court of International Justice.

#### CHAPTER IV.—TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

**Art. 39**—The first meeting of the conference shall take place in October, 1919. The place and agenda for this meeting shall be as specified in the schedule annexed hereto.

Arrangements for the convening and the organization of the first meeting of the conference will be made by the Government designated for the purpose in the said schedule. That Government shall be assisted in the preparation of the documents for submission to the conference by an international committee constituted as provided in the said schedule.

The expenses of the first meeting and of all subsequent meetings held before the League of Nations has been able to establish a general fund, other than the expenses of delegates and their advisers, will be borne by the high contracting parties in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

**Art. 40**—Until the League of Nations has been constituted all communications which

under the provisions of the foregoing articles should be addressed to the Secretary General of the League will be preserved by the Director of the International Labor Office, who will transmit them to the Secretary General of the League when appointed.

**Art. 41**—Pending the creation of a permanent Court of International Justice, disputes which, in accordance with this convention, would be submitted to it for decision, will be referred to a tribunal of three persons appointed by the Executive Council of the League of Nations.

#### PROTOCOL TO ARTICLE 7

The governing body of the International Labor Office shall be constituted as follows:

Twelve representatives of the Governments.

Six members elected by the delegates to the conference representing the employers.

Six members elected by the delegates to the conference representing the workpeople.

Of the twelve members representing the Governments, eight shall be nominated by the high contracting parties which are of the chief industrial importance, and four shall be nominated by the high contracting parties selected for the purpose by the Government delegates to the conference, including the delegates of the eight States mentioned above. No high contracting party, together with its dominions and colonies, whether self-governing or not, shall be entitled to nominate more than one member.

Any question as to which are the high contracting parties of the chief industrial importance shall be decided by the Executive Council of the League of Nations.

The period of office of members of the governing body will be three years. The method of filling vacancies and other similar questions may be determined by the governing body subject to the approval of the conference.

#### PROTOCOL TO ARTICLE 19

In no case shall any of the high contracting parties be asked or required, as a result of the adoption of any recommendation or draft convention by the conference, to diminish the protection afforded by its existing legislation to the workers concerned.

### PART II.

#### TEST OF LABOR PRINCIPLES

The nine principles summarized above, to govern the future conditions of the world's labor, were formulated as follows:

The high contracting parties, recognizing that the well-being, physical, moral, and intellectual, of industrial wage earners is of supreme international importance, have framed a permanent machinery associated with that of the League of Nations to further this great end. They recognize that differ-



ence of climate, habits and customs of economic opportunity, and industrial tradition make strict uniformity in the conditions of labor difficult of immediate attainment. But, holding as they do that labor remedies (probably error in transmission) be regarded merely as an article of commerce, they think that there are methods and principles for the rectification of labor conditions which all industrial communities should endeavor to apply so far as their special circumstances will permit.

Among these methods and principles the following seem to the high contracting parties to be of special and urgent importance:

First—The guiding principle above enunciated that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce.

Second—The right of association for all lawful purposes by the employed, as well as by the employers.

Third—The payment to the employed of a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life as this is understood in the time and country.

Fourth—The adoption of an eight-hour day or a forty-eight-hour week as the standard to be aimed at where it has not already been obtained.

Fifth—The adoption of a weekly rest of at

least twenty-four hours, which should include Sunday whenever practicable.

Sixth—The abolition of child labor and the imposition of such limitations on the labor of young persons as shall permit the continuation of their education and assure their proper physical development.

Seventh—The principle that men and women should receive equal remuneration for work of equal value.

Eighth—The standard set by the law in each country with respect to the condition of labor should have due regard to the equitable economic treatment of all workers lawfully resident therein.

Ninth—Each State should make provision for a system of inspection, in which women should take part, in order to insure the enforcement of the laws and regulations for the protection of the employed.

Without claiming that these methods and principles are either complete or final the high contracting parties are of opinion that they are well fitted to guide the policy of the League of Nations, and that if adopted by the industrial communities who are members of the League and safeguarded in practice by an adequate system of such inspection, they will confer lasting benefits upon the wage earners of the world.

## The Yanks on the Marne

[An Anonymous Song of the A. E. F.]

Oh, the English and the Irish, and the  
'owlin' Scotties, too,  
The Canucks and Austrilees-uns, and the  
'airy French poilu;  
The only things that bothered us, a year  
before we knew,  
Was 'ow in 'ell the Yanks'd look, an' wot  
in 'ell they'd do.

They 'adn't 'ad no trynin'; they didn't  
know the gime;  
They 'adn't never marched it much; their  
shootin' was the sime;  
An' the only thing that bothered us that  
day in lawst July  
Was 'ow in 'ell the lin'd 'old if they  
should run aw'y.

The leggy, nosy new 'uns, just come  
across the sea!  
We couldn't 'elp but wonder 'ow in 'ell  
their guts'd be;  
An' the only thing that bothered us in all  
our staggerin' ranks  
Was wot in 'ell would 'appen w'en the  
'Uns 'ad 'it the Yanks.

My word, it 'appened sudden w'en the  
drive 'ad first begun;  
We seen the Yanks a-runnin'—Gaw  
Blimy, how they run!  
But the only thing that bothered us that  
seen the chase begin  
Was 'ow in 'ell to stop 'em 'fore they got  
into Berlin.

They didn't 'ave no tactics but the bloody  
manual;  
They 'adn't learned no orders but  
"Ooray" and "Give 'em 'ell!"  
But the only thing that bothered us about  
them leggy lads  
Was 'ow in 'ell to get the chow to feed  
their Kamerads.

Oh, the English and the Irish, and the  
'owlin' Scotties, too,  
The Canucks and Austrilees-uns, and the  
'airy French poilu;  
The only thing that bothered us don't  
bother us no more.  
It's only w'y in 'ell we didn't know the  
Yanks before.



# Greatest Battle in American History

## Argonne-Meuse Struggle Described in Thrilling Detail From Official Records

*One of the most terrific struggles of the whole war occurred in the region between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse River during the closing months of the conflict. This gigantic battle raged practically without interruption from July 18 to Nov. 11, 1918. The story of it was told in CURRENT HISTORY from month to month by well-known war correspondents, but now for the first time it is possible to present a connected and unified narrative of it from official sources. It was in this great final offensive that Marshal Foch paid the American troops the compliment of letting them bear the brunt of the German counter-offensive, a veritable hell of cannon fire, and the following narrative shows them smashing through line after line of the enemy's defenses and driving Germany's proudest troops into positions of such peril that the petition for an armistice was the only logical solution:*

**S**TANDING on the crest of Montfaucon, on the roof of the concrete observation post from which the German Crown Prince watched his troops attack Verdun in 1916, the visitor sees spread out before him an excellent panorama of the battlefield.

To the north is an unending series of rolling hills, covered here and there with patches of woods, each hill and each patch seemingly impregnable to attack. On the west towers the wooded mass of Argonne Forest, impenetrable except by a few trails. On the east are the heights of the Meuse, dominated from the further bank of the river. Behind is the single bare peak of Vauquois, while to the southeast appear the heights made famous in the battle of Verdun—Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill.

This battlefield, stretching between the forest and the Meuse, played a prominent rôle in the war from the beginning. In 1914, when the Germans, pouring south from Montmédy, reached the line on which the battle of the Marne was fought, the pivot of that line was the fortress of Verdun. Though they surrounded it on three sides, all their efforts to crush in this pivot failed. They did not make another attempt to reduce the formidable point of resistance until 1916, though in 1915 there was heavy fighting in that part of the Argonne Forest known as the Bois de la Grurie and around Vauquois.

The German attacks in 1916 were pivoted on two points, Montfaucon, west of the Meuse, and the twin heights of Ornes on the east. Attacking Feb. 21, they succeeded, after terrific losses, in getting as far as the forts of Douaumont and Vaux. They subsequently penetrated to the village of Fleury and even got close to Fort Souville, but were checked there.

On the left bank of the Meuse the Germans, beginning operations in May, 1916, set themselves the object of closing in on Verdun by capturing the formidable defensive positions of Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill. They took them at great cost, but were unable to hold them.

The French saw the absolute necessity of disengaging the village of Fleury and, by a counter-attack, wrested it from the foe. Then, as the line had become stabilized, the French command believed the time ripe to launch a counter-attack to retake Douaumont and Vaux. This operation, carried out in October, 1916, under General Mangin, then a corps commander, was brilliantly successful.

### WHERE THE ADVANCE STARTED

Hill 304 and Dead Man's Hill, on the other side of the Meuse, were not finally cleared of the enemy until Aug. 20, 1917, when the Germans on the left bank were driven back to the exact positions from which they had started, running from Avocourt to the river near Forges. It



was from this line that the Americans advanced to the attack on Sept. 26, 1918.

The old battleline from the Argonne to the Meuse may, then, be divided into two distinct parts. The western part ran from the western edge of the Argonne to Avocourt and had been stationary for four years until the Americans broke clean through it last September. The eastern part ran from Avocourt to the Meuse and had constantly fluctuated as a result of the vain German attempts to reduce Verdun.

Nowhere on the western front were the German defenses so formidable as between the Argonne and the Meuse. It was against this bristling mass of fortified positions—the Hindenburg line, Hagen Stellung, Völker Stellung, Kriemhilde Stellung, and Freya Stellung—that the American Army hurled itself in its supreme bid for victory.

All these lines of defense followed

the heights, depending on the natural strength of the positions on which they were built. The Hindenburg, Hagen, and Kriemhilde were the principal defenses; the others were local lines.

To win the war Germany felt that she must have undisturbed access to the coal fields of Northern France and Belgium, as well as to the iron mines of Lorraine. Therefore she had to build her defenses so as to cover these territories. In addition, it was imperative that she should protect the great double track (in places four track) railway from Lille to Metz along the Franco-Belgian frontier. This main transverse line of communication—or, as the French call it, the “voie de rocade”—was fed in the north by the immense railroad system running through Liège, and in the south by the lines running through Luxemburg. These are the main arteries connecting France and Germany from the north

### LEADERS OF THE FIRST ARMY

Commander in Chief, General John J. Pershing.  
Army Commander, Lieut. Gen. Hunter Liggett.

#### FIRST CORPS

Major Gen. Hunter Liggett.  
Major Gen. Joseph E. Dickman.

#### THIRD CORPS

Major Gen. Robert L. Bullard.  
Major Gen. John L. Hines.

#### FIFTH CORPS

Major Gen. George H. Cameron.  
Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall.

#### 17TH FRENCH CORPS

General Claudel.

### DIVISIONS

1st.—Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall.  
Brig. Gen. F. E. Bamford.  
Brig. Gen. Frank Parker.  
2d.—Major Gen. John A. Le Jeune.  
3d.—Major Gen. Beaumont B. Buck.  
4th.—Major Gen. John L. Hines.  
Major Gen. Mark L. Hersey.  
5th.—Major Gen. John E. McMahon.  
Major Gen. Hanson E. Ely.  
26th.—Major Gen. Clarence E. Edwards.  
Brig. Gen. F. E. Bamford.  
28th.—Major Gen. Charles H. Muir.  
29th.—Major Gen. Charles G. Morton.  
32d.—Major Gen. W. G. Haan.

33d.—Major Gen. George Bell, Jr.  
35th.—Major Gen. Peter E. Traub.  
37th.—Major Gen. C. S. Farnsworth.  
42d.—Major Gen. Charles T. Menoher.  
77th.—Major Gen. Robert Alexander.  
78th.—Major Gen. James H. McRae.  
79th.—Major Gen. Joseph E. Kuhn.  
80th.—Major Gen. A. Cronkhite.  
81st.—Major Gen. C. J. Bailey.  
82d.—Major Gen. George B. Duncan.  
85th.—Major Gen. William M. Wright.  
90th.—Major Gen. Henry T. Allen.  
91st.—Major Gen. William H. Johnston.

### Divisions That Went Into Argonne-Meuse Battle

1st Corps.	5th Corps.	3d Corps.	17th Fr. Corps.
Divs.	Divs.	Divs.	Divs.
77, 28, 35	91, 37, 79	4, 80, 33	29, 18F, 26F
78, 82, 1	42-32, 32, 80	3, 33	79, 26, 26
77, 80	3, 5	5, 15 F. C.	33, ..
.. 1	2-89 .. ..	90, 5, 32	
42			

[Upper list shows divisions at the beginning of the battle; lower shows replacement divisions.]



and northeast, and it was along them that all German troops and supplies entered France.

When lack of man power compelled the German High Command to take into account the necessity of shortening the battleline, the question of carrying out successfully this shortening became all-important. Owing to the fact that Holland juts southward into Belgium close to Liège, the great majority of German troops in France, it was foreseen, would be compelled to retreat by the southern rail artery described above. Therefore, the German front in the region of Verdun, opposite the American lines, must necessarily hold to the last if there was to be a successful withdrawal of the huge masses of German troops and material further west and north. It was to thwart such a withdrawal and bring about a situation where the Germans would face a disaster surpassing that which befell the French at Sedan, in this same region in 1870, that the Americans made their tremendous onslaught that did not terminate until the enemy,

torn, broken, and without reserves, with lines of communication cut and all hope lost, begged for a cessation of hostilities.

#### SECRET PREPARATIONS

Preparations for the great battle were made by the Americans with the utmost secrecy. A few days before the date set they had taken over the sector from La Harazée, in the Argonne Forest, to the Meuse, near Forges. The American forces were disposed as follows:

The 1st Corps (77th, 28th, and 35th Divisions) lay between La Harazée and Vauquois. The 5th Corps (91st, 37th, 79th Divisions) held the line from Vauquois to a point close to Malancourt. The 3d Corps (4th, 80th, 33d Divisions) covered the sector from Malancourt to the Meuse.

The American plan of attack interlocked with that of the French on the left. Both armies were to strike hard blows against the vital German lines before them, thus helping the attacks of the British and French on the northern front. The Americans, and the French co-operating with them, were to drive

#### STATISTICS OF THE BATTLE

Duration of the battle.....	47 days	
Forces engaged .....	Americans .....	631,405
	French .....	138,000
	Total .....	769,405
		Germans 396,750
Divisions engaged .....	Americans, 22	
	French, 4	
	Germans, 46	
Maximum penetration of the enemy's lines.....	54 kilometers	
Territory liberated for France.....	1,550 square kilometers	
Villages and towns liberated.....	150	
Total number of guns which began the attack .....	3,928	
Artillery ammunition fired daily.....	72,541 rounds average	
Ammunition fired (artillery) greatest daily rate .....	313,078 rounds, (Sept. 26)	
Total artillery ammunition fired.....	3,408,725 rounds	
Prisoners captured .....	316 officers, 15,743 men	
Material captured .....	468 guns, 2,864 machine guns, 177 trench mortars	
Casualties .....	(Americans) Killed .....	15,599
	Missing .....	8,805
	Wounded .....	69,832
	Gassed .....	18,664
	Shell shocked.....	2,629
	Total.....	115,529
	(French).....Estimated .....	7,000
	Total, American side.....	122,529
	German side, estimated .....	100,000



into the enemy's lines two deep salients on both sides of the Argonne Forest, which had been deemed impregnable to frontal assault. The salient to the west was to run from the eastern edge of the Bois de Forges through the heights south of Monthois to the Liry-Orfeuil-Médéah Farm road, and was to be made by the French. The American Army objective was a line running from east of the Argonne Forest to Aprémont, Exermont, Romagne, Cunel, Briulles, and the Meuse. The combined objective of the two armies ran by Monthois, Vaux-les-Mouron, the Aisne to its junction with the Aire, the Aire to Chevières, St. Juvénat and the ridges north of that village, Landres-et-St. Georges, the Bantheville road and southeastward to Briulles. This combined objective did not call for an advance in the salient west of the Argonne, but, if reached, would mean that the enemy must get out of the forest.

#### FIRST PHASE—SEPT. 26 TO OCT. 4

At 5:30 o'clock on the morning of Sept. 26, 1918, the greatest battle in the history of American arms began. Hundreds of our guns, pouring shell into the enemy's positions, had made of the night before a rocking, ear-shattering, flaming hell. They tore and smashed the German lines of defense to such an extent that, when our troops went over the top, they advanced to an average depth of seven miles.

On the left the height of Vauquois and Varennes fell almost without a fight. The 77th Division made some progress north of La Harazée in spite of extremely difficult terrain. The 91st, overcoming machine-gun and light-artillery resistance, reached the Véry-Montfaucon ridge by nightfall; some of its patrols fought their way into Epinonville. The 37th and 79th passed through the woods in front of them and, by evening, the latter held the slopes leading to Montfaucon. Montfaucon itself was assailed in the dusk by the 313th Infantry, with the aid of tanks, but a deluge of fire and the lack of artillery support caused the postponement of the attack, after heavy casualties.

The crossing of the Forges stream by the 33d Division was a wonderful feat.

Duckboards were thrown over the enemy wire in some places and elsewhere the soldiers waded through swampy ground under deadly fire. By noon this division had reached its objectives along the Meuse. The other two divisions of the corps met strong resistance after making an initial break in the German line.

The 37th Division entered Ivoiry and took Hill 258, southwest of the town, but was later withdrawn. The right of the 37th and the left regiment of the 79th attacked Montfaucon on the next day and, despite furious resistance, the 313th Infantry got into the town, followed by troops of the 37th, who mopped up the position. At dark the line of these divisions ran along the Ivoiry-Montfaucon road.

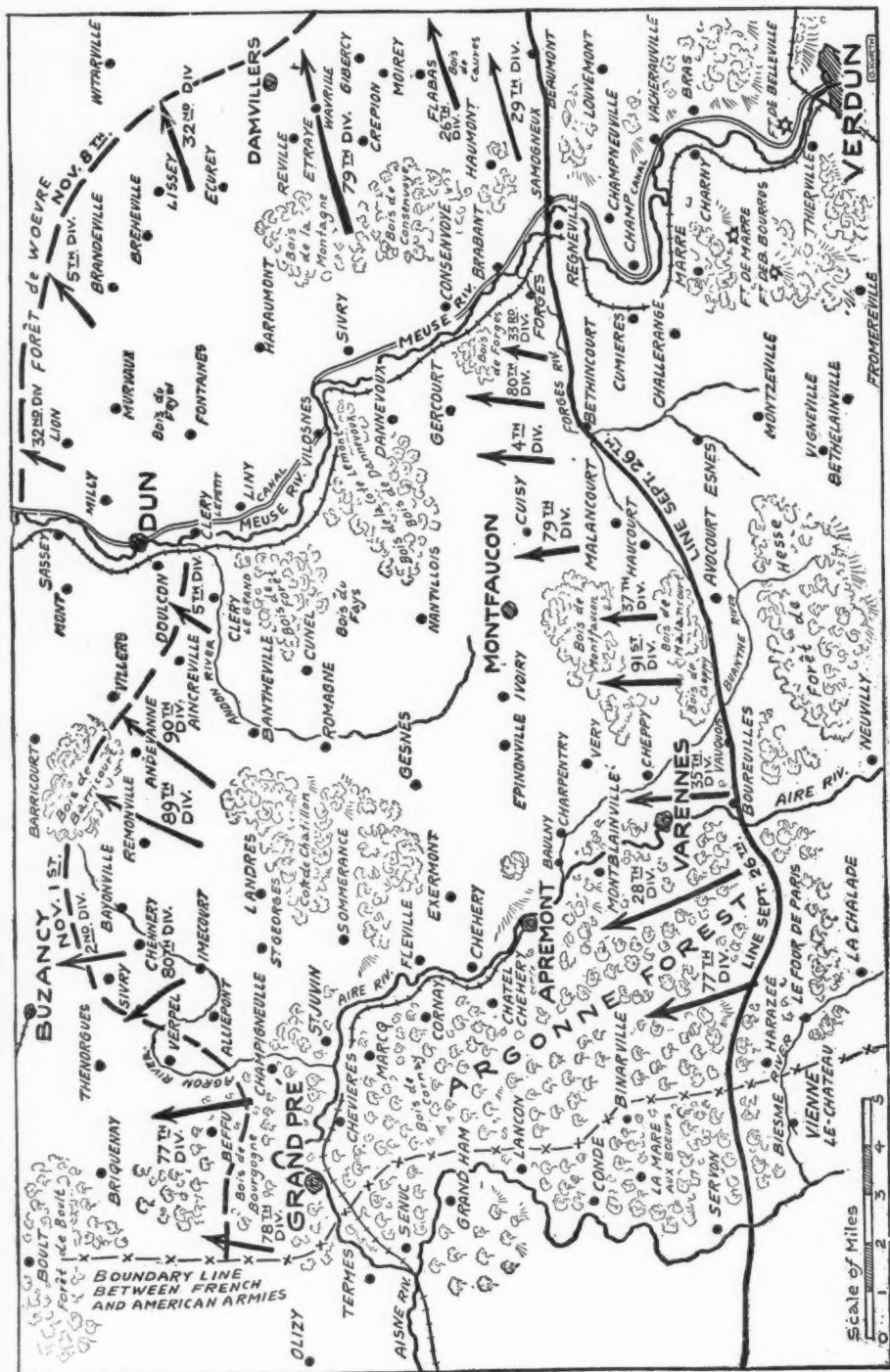
On the right the 33d Division held its ground along the Meuse, according to plan. The 4th pushed forward to the northern edge of the Bois de Briulles and met strong opposition just beyond, at the Bois de Faye. The 80th Division reached its objectives, except on its left, where it was held up by the 4th Division's unsuccessful advance.

#### 77TH REACHES OBJECTIVES

On the extreme left troops of the 77th Division had reached their objectives, while, further east, the 91st and the other two divisions of the 5th Corps (37th and 79th) were pushing forward despite stubborn resistance. The 91st made a particularly successful advance, going ahead of the divisions on both its flanks, but, because these could not keep up, it was forced to abandon ground won at great cost. The 91st soon ran into increasingly murderous fire, but on Sept. 29, after having cleared the Bois de Baulny and the Bois des Epinettes, it renewed its attack. Though held up at Cières, it cleared the wood of that name and, on the left, reached the woods north of Tronsol Farm. Another attack, ordered in the afternoon, was successful along the front of the 91st and resulted in the capture of Gesnes. On the left the line went beyond the Bois de la Morine and the Bois de Chêne Sec.

At 4 in the afternoon the commander





WHERE AMERICANS DID THEIR HARDEST FIGHTING IN THE MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE



of the 91st learned that the leading elements of the 35th, on his left, had fallen back from near Exermont, while on the right the Bois Emont had been evacuated by the leading units of the 37th. This left the flanks of the 91st in a perilous position and placed the division in danger of being cut off by the enemy. The 91st sent word to the 37th to move forward far enough to cover the right flank, but received a reply that such a move was impossible. The 35th, on the left of the 91st, was also in a tight place and was retiring to Baulny, having sent out appeals for help on both flanks. There was no other course, therefore, for the 91st except to fall back.

The 79th succeeded finally in reaching the Bois de Beuge and Nantillois, but several attacks on the Bois des Ogons failed.

On the extreme right the 4th and 80th Divisions tried to extend their gains, but failed under heavy fire from the east bank of the Meuse. On Sept. 30 the 37th Division was relieved by the 32d, and the 79th by the 3d. The 91st held desperately to its line until Oct. 4, when it was relieved by the 32d, which four days previously had taken over the 37th's sector. The Germans continued to reinforce their front, rushing up new divisions from the Metz area.

The net results of the first phase of the great battle were these: On the first and second days our troops broke through the first two lines of the enemy's defenses and penetrated the third line—the Völker Stellung—at one point. From then until Oct. 4 there was bitter close quarter fighting all along the front except at the extreme right. The bitterest fighting was on the right of the 1st Corps, as the Germans were bending every effort to hold the salient which the Americans, in conjunction with the French, had driven into the German lines in the Argonne Forest.

#### SECOND PHASE—OCT. 4 TO NOV. 1

Along the greater part of the front the enemy was now in his positions known as the Kriemhilde Stellung, along the heights north of Beffu, Landres-et-St. Georges, and Bantheville.

On Oct. 4 the general American at-

tack was resumed. It met strong resistance, but our troops succeeded in capturing the Bois du Fays, Bois des Ogons, Exermont, Chéhery, and La Forge. In the centre the 32d Division took Gesnes, but was forced out again. Twice on Oct. 5 troops of the 30th Division attacked the Bois des Ogons with the assistance of tanks, and finally succeeded in reaching the northern edge.

On Oct. 6 a new movement developed which had not been included in the original plans. The German positions in the Argonne Forest were seriously threatened, but in order to force the Germans there to retire it was necessary to capture the heights on the eastern edge of the forest. A brigade of the 82d Division, with the 55th Brigade of the 28th, supported by one regiment of the 56th Brigade, made the attack from Chéhery. The 82d Division, which was to extend the front of the attack as far north as Fléville, was unable to get its left regiment, the 327th Infantry, up in time, so that there was a gap in the line.

The 55th Brigade soon took Chatel Chéhery, but was held on the slopes of Hill 244. On the right, Hill 223 had not been taken, as the 327th Infantry of the 82d Division did not get up until noon, and the right of the 55th Brigade was suffering severely from machine-gun fire. A battalion, therefore, was sent forward to take Hill 223. Hill 244 was captured only after terrific fighting. The 82d, on the right, took Cornay and Hill 180.

Outflanked by this bold operation, the enemy soon found his salient in the Argonne untenable and hastily retreated. By Oct. 10 the 77th Division had advanced to Chevières, clearing the forest. The 82d Division now took over the entire sector of the 28th.

This sudden attack to the west was made possible by the brilliant work of the 1st Division, which forced its way northward to the Kriemhilde Stellung and thus was able to protect the right flank of the attack against the Argonne ridges.

On Oct. 2 the first battalion of the 308th Infantry, with about a company of the 307th and elements of the 306th



Machine Gun Company, (about seven companies in all,) was cut off in the heart of the forest. The 77th Division, in its advance, had left its left flank in the air. These seven companies, under Major Charles S. Whittlesey of New York, held out for five days under galling fire from all sides. They were finally rescued on Oct. 7, having lost about half their strength in killed and wounded. Far and wide their story has spread, and they have been known as "The Lost Battalion."

Our centre was still a bit south of the Kriemhilde Stellung. It was planned to break through the line of hills on the left of the Bois de Valoup and get through to the Tranché de la Mamelle, thus encircling the village of Romagne. This attack, if successful, would pierce the Kriemhilde line at its strongest point. With the aid of the 42d Division, which had come in on the left of the 32d, our troops advanced under a heavy barrage on the morning of Oct. 9. On the left the 32d Division had great success, penetrating the enemy's lines at one point on the Côte-Dame-Marie. The right of the division got into hand-to-hand fighting in the Mamelle trench and was stopped. Further to the right, the 80th Division reached the Cunel-Brieulles road. Two companies filtered into Cunel itself, surprising and capturing the garrison. Next day the 80th planned to continue the attack, but it was broken up by the enemy's fire. The division was then relieved by the 5th. The 4th Division, on the right of the 80th, was to have followed up the gains of the latter, but, owing to the stiff resistance encountered, these troops were recalled at dark. On Oct. 12, however, the 4th Division got through the Bois de Forêt and pushed out patrols to Hill 299.

With the clearing of the Argonne Forest, a new objective was set for the 1st Corps—a line running north of Briquenay and Thenorgues and south of Sivry-lez-Buzancy, to flank the Bois de Bourgogne. Elements of the 82d Division crossed the Aire on improvised bridges, and the 77th was able to get patrols across after passing through the Bois de Negromont. The French on our left,

during these two days, had advanced about twelve kilometers (7½ miles) west of the Aisne.

In the centre our troops were still held by the formidable Kriemhilde Stellung. On Oct. 12 one brigade of the 5th Division relieved the 80th south of Cunel and part of the 4th Division, so that the lineup on this date, from left to right, was as follows: 32d, 3d, 5th, 4th.

The 32d was just south of the Kriemhilde Stellung south of Romagne, the 3d along the Kriemhilde line from south of Romagne to south of Cunel, the 5th along the Cunel-Brieulles road, and the 4th north of the road in the Bois de Forêt. Only two battalions of the 5th had been put into line when, at 4 P. M., the division was relieved by the 3d. The 3d also relieved, a few days later, what was left of the 4th. The 33d, which had made no move since Oct. 4, when, by an extension to its left, it had taken over the 80th's sector, was turned over to the 17th French Corps occupying the line east of the Meuse.

#### THROUGH KRIEMHILDE STELLUNG

On Oct. 14 the advance was resumed all along the line. The enemy put down a heavy counterbarrage, causing serious losses. The advance continued, however, up the slopes of Hills 260 and 271. The infantry was halted at 10 A. M., after having advanced 1,500 meters, (about one mile.) The 32d Division had been held up in front of Côte-Dame-Marie, but its right finally took Romagné. The 42d got over Hill 288 by noon. Later in the day the right of the 5th Division captured the Bois Pultière. The Kriemhilde Stellung, as a result of these gains, had been pierced at its strongest point.

In spite of the fact that the 5th Division was much depleted as a result of this heavy fighting, a new attack was started on the morning of Oct. 15. These troops attempted to get into the Bois de Rappes, but were unsuccessful.

Two days later the 32d tried to reach Bantheville, and the 5th made another attempt to take the Bois de Rappes. Every effort to advance was checked by the enemy, although the 32d was able to get through the Bois de Bantheville, where it was relieved by the 89th, Part



of the 5th Division was ordered to attack again on Oct. 20, its right regiment to take the Bois de Rappes in connection with an attack by elements of the 3d Division on the Bois Clairs Chenes. This attack again failed.

The fourth and final attack on this position was made Oct. 21, and that evening the 5th sent back the laconic report that the Bois de Rappes had been "taken and riveted." Next day the division was relieved by the 90th.

On the left of our battleline the 77th Division was working slowly around Grand Pré, as it had been found impossible to take that place by direct assault. The 78th relieved the 77th on Oct. 15, but was no more successful in getting forward. In the centre troops of the 42d, which had reached the slopes of the Côte de Chatillon on Oct. 14, were stopped there by the 3d Prussian Guard, which held out to the last man in its advanced positions just below the crest. Finally, on Oct. 16, the 42d Division in a whirlwind attack took the crest of Chatillon Hill as well as Musard Farm. The 78th on the same day took Grand Pré. The right of the 78th then pushed forward into the Bois des Loges. The enemy drenched this wood with gas, so that our men had to withdraw. He then reoccupied it, and three days of furious fighting were needed to retake the positions.

On Oct. 20 our line was everywhere north of the Aire, from Grand Pré to the ridges south of Landres-et-St. Georges, and, with the exception of the salient which included the Bois de Bantheville, it continued in a generally straight line to the Meuse north of Brioules. The French on our left had stormed the heights opposite Vouziers and had advanced about three kilometers (two miles) east of the Aisne.

On Oct. 23 the 78th Division captured Talma Farm. The enemy got back into Grand Pré again, but was driven out. The village of Champigneulle was taken and lost. Next day, on the right, we succeeded in forcing the enemy back over the Andon River. Our line was thus secure all along the front, and we held positions from which a new general attack could be launched.

### THIRD PHASE—NOV. 1 TO NOV. 11

The third phase of the Argonne battle was the natural result of previous operations.

On the morning of Nov. 1 our troops occupied the heights northeast of Grand Pré, the Bois de Bantheville, and Hill 288, as well as the heights south of the Andon. We had been held up in the centre by the remaining portions of the Kriemhilde Stellung, south of the villages of St. Georges and Landres-et-St. Georges. A captured enemy map showed that the Germans had still another line of defense, the Freya Stellung.

The divisions in line on this date, from left to right, were the 78th, 77th, 80th, 2d, 89th, and 5th. On Oct. 30 a patrol of the 5th entered and cleaned up Brioules, thus straightening the line to the Meuse.

The objective now was to make a salient approximately eight kilometers (five miles) deep, the 5th Corps to form the point. The attack was launched on the morning of Nov. 1. In the centre we progressed deep into the Freya Stellung, capturing St. Georges, Landres-et-St. Georges, Imecourt, Landreville, Chenery, Bayonville, Remonville, Andevanne, and Cléry-le-Grand.

For the attack the 5th Division, on the right, was to act as a pivot until the 90th, on its left, reached the Meuse, (which was not until Nov. 3.) In case of a general withdrawal the 5th was to cross the Meuse and advance up the heights on the other side.

The remarkable fact about the second day's operations was that greater gains were made than on the first day, something which had not happened before in an attack on the western front. The 80th Division drove the enemy from Buzancy, the chief German railhead in this region. On the right our troops advanced as far as Fosse, four kilometers (2½ miles) beyond the Freya Stellung, which had been pierced at Bayonville.

The attack by the 89th north of Bantheville on Nov. 1 began well, but on the following days slowed up considerably. Barricourt was captured Nov. 3. The 1st Division was ordered to pass through the 89th, but the commander of



**MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE  
MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE  
FIRST, SECOND AND LAST PHASES.**

**LEGEND**  
 ——— AMERICAN DAILY LINES OF ADVANCE  
 FIRST AND SECOND PHASES.

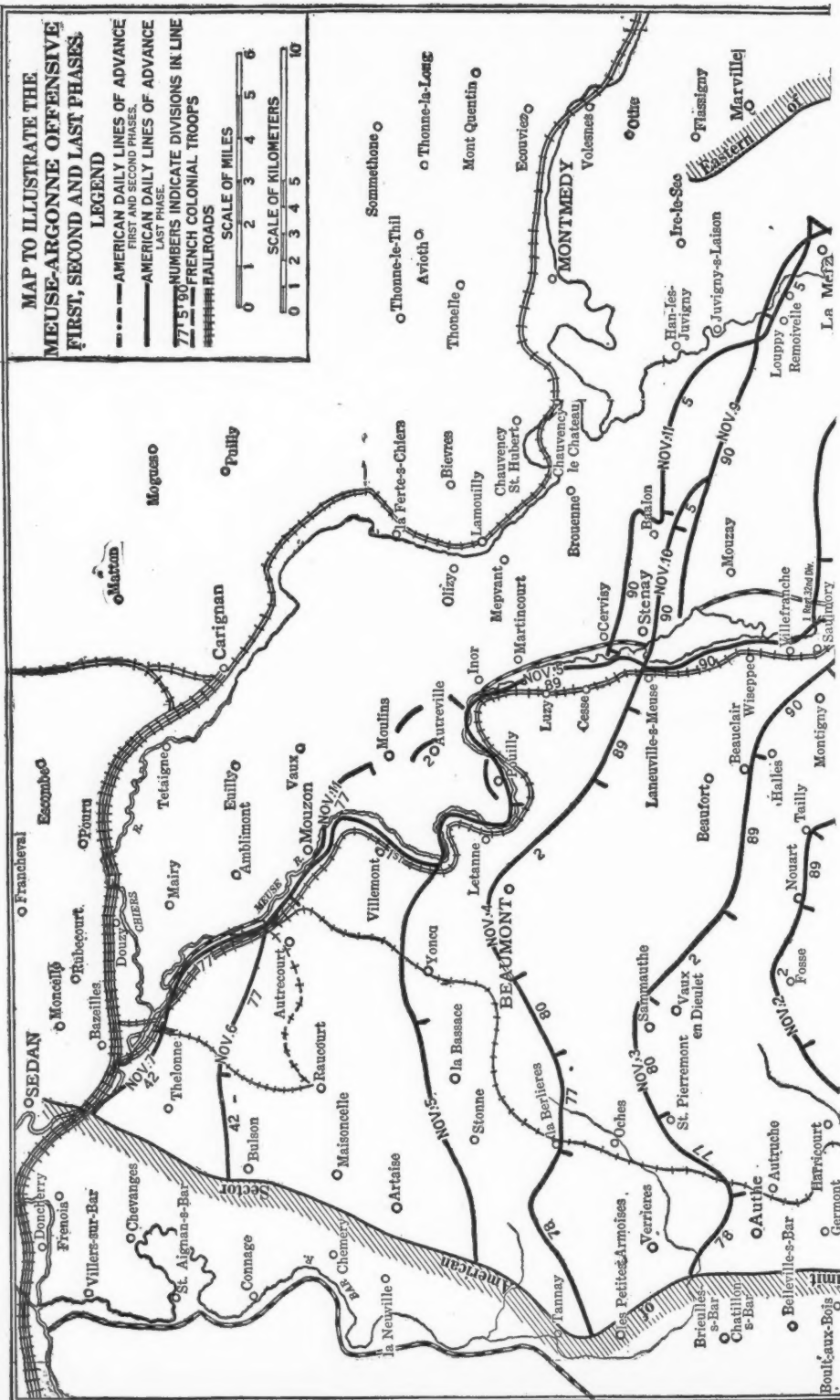
**—AMERICAN DAILY LINES OF ADVANCE  
LAST PHASE.  
—NUMBERS INDICATE DIVISIONS IN LINE**  
**7715190**

## THE FRENCH COLONIAL TROOPS

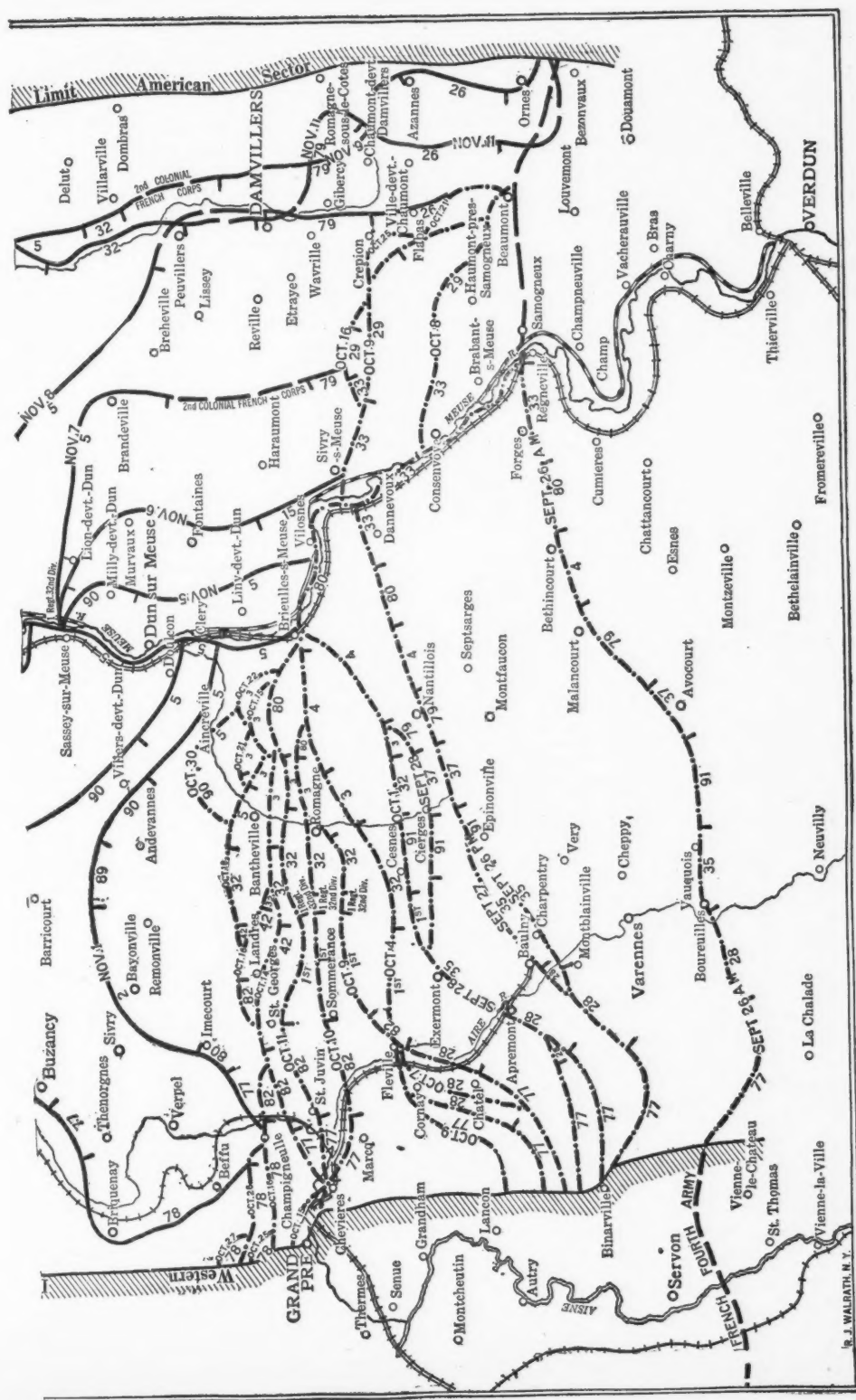
**SCALE OF MILES**

0 1 2 3 4 5 6

**SCALE OF KILOMETERS**









the latter, General Wright, asked permission to keep his troops in line. From north of Taily large convoys of Germans could be seen leaving Stenay, and many vehicles were seen crossing the river behind Laneuville. The German rearguards, however, succeeded in holding off our main forces until their troops had crossed the river. Beaufort was captured Nov. 4, and on the following days units of the division succeeded in crossing the Meuse over partially destroyed bridges.

#### GREAT FEAT OF THE 2D

The 2d Division, on the left of the 89th, accomplished one of the most remarkable feats of the war. On the night of Nov. 3, after the Marine Brigade had broken through the enemy's positions, the 9th and 23d Infantry Regiments were formed in column on the road leading north to Beaumont. The 9th Infantry led the column with the usual advance guard and flank patrols. Beyond this protection there was nothing to prevent the entire brigade from being cut off. It marched all night long straight through the enemy lines for a distance of about eight kilometers, through the Bois de Belval, the Bois du Four, and the Bois du Fort Gerache. The enemy was taken completely by surprise. A few machine guns opened up on the column, but they were soon silenced by details sent out for this purpose. Other machine gunners were found asleep at their guns and captured. Many details of enemy troops were captured, and at La Tuilerie Farm the advance guard found the place occupied by German officers sitting around tables with lights burning. They were thrown into dismay by the appearance of American troops, whom they thought far to the south.

This rapid advance succeeded so well that the troops on both flanks, which had been held up, were able to move forward. The line was completely broken through and the enemy soon was everywhere in rapid retreat.

On the left the enemy's resistance gave way before the repeated attacks of the 78th and 77th Divisions, and he began to fall back so rapidly that his retreat bordered on a rout. Our troops

in this sector, in order to keep up with the enemy, were loaded on motor trucks. The enemy was compelled to abandon completely the Bois de Bourgogne. Outflanked by the French on the west, the Germans withdrew hastily. French and American troops joined hands at Châtillon-sur-Bar, and thus the last important bulwark which guarded the great German "Voie de rocade" was cleared.

On the right our men pushed rapidly down the left bank of the Meuse, harassing the enemy's retreat at every step.

On Nov. 4 troops of the 80th Division had reached the heights south of Beaumont, where they encountered the first organized opposition. The towns and roads behind the enemy's lines were crowded with retreating troops and transports. The enemy's confusion was great and there were all indications that he was throwing in his last reserves.

#### CROSSING OF THE MEUSE

The 5th Division learned on Nov. 2 that the enemy was withdrawing. Preparations were at once made for crossing the Meuse. This proved to be a most difficult task. After working around the edge of the horseshoe bluff north of Brioules and taking Doulecon, an attempt was made to cross on the night of Nov. 3-4. In the face of a heavy fire two companies got across at Brioules, but the others could not follow. These two companies dug in.

On Nov. 4 another attempt to cross at Cléry-le-Petit failed. Meanwhile the two companies of the 60th Infantry already crossed at Brioules succeeded, by a surprise attack, in getting over the canal and organizing a bridgehead. Just below this point the 3d Battalion of the 60th crossed the river on rafts, duckboards, with poles and ropes, and by swimming, and established itself in the Bois de Châtillon. The following morning, Nov. 5, the Bois de Châtillon was cleared of the enemy and the left of the 5th Division was able to cross. The villages of Dun-sur-Meuse and Milly were captured, so that the net result of the day was the crossing of the river and the capture of the whole line of heights from Milly to Vilosnes.

On the extreme left the 1st Division



on Nov. 6 relieved the 80th, while the 42d relieved the 78th. These two divisions reached on this date the banks overlooking the Meuse from west of Remilly through Allécourt to Mouzon.

About 2 P. M., Nov. 6, the commanding general of the 5th Army Corps came in person to the headquarters of the 1st Division and gave a verbal order for the 1st Division to march at once on Sedan. The 1st Division in its advance met part of the 42d Division in Bulson. On Nov. 7 it encountered the enemy on the front Bulson-Chéhery-Omicourt. He was immediately attacked and driven northward. Meanwhile, patrols of the 42d penetrated to the edge of the village of Wadelincourt across the river from Sedan. In the afternoon of Nov. 7 the 1st Division was withdrawn to the line La Bésace-Autrecourt. It had marched all of two nights and part of a third, covering an average distance of 53 kilometers in mud, darkness, and congestion of traffic. In addition, it had fought all of two days.

On the right the 5th Division continued its attack on Nov. 6, pushed forward with wonderful speed and captured Murvaux, while its left unit reached and held the Côte St. Germain. The advance continued on the following day, the 5th Division being far ahead of the units on its flank. The 90th had not yet got across the river, and the 17th French Corps, on the right, which was trying to converge on Breheville, did not succeed in getting forward until this day.

The 5th Division patrols on Nov. 9 reported that the enemy was in general retreat and an advance in force was ordered. The villages of Louppy and Removille were captured, and, in the evening, troops of one regiment swam the Loison and captured Jametz. The French took Damvillers, while two companies on the left of the 5th Division captured Mouzay, enabling the 90th Division to cross the river. On Nov. 10 the Forêt de Weevre, a "jungle of trees and heavy undergrowth with roads knee deep with mud," was mopped up. Here the division stood at the signing of the armistice.

These troops had stormed the heights

east of the Meuse, had pushed a wide salient to a depth of 15 kilometers into the enemy's line, and had contributed materially to the advance of the 90th Division on its left and that unit's capture of Stenay. The 5th was five kilometers in advance of the troops on its left and two kilometers beyond the troops on its right. The division's report says: "Its operations form a brilliant example of what the American soldier can do in an emergency when he must go to the utmost extent of his power."

The 32d Division moved up to the right of the 5th Division on Nov. 10, taking over the sector of the 15th French Colonial Division. It advanced west of Brandeville in a fog that day and a new attack had been ordered on Nov. 11 when the armistice was signed.

#### OPERATIONS EAST OF MEUSE

The 17th French Corps, commanded by General Claudel, which was part of the French Second Army holding the hills north of Verdun, was left in place when the First American Army took over the Meuse-Argonne sector. One American division, the 29th, was assigned to it for use when the situation should so develop that the corps would come into action.

It was the general plan to make the main attack west of the Meuse while the 17th French Corps on the east bank held and protected the flank. However, our troops, as they advanced on the west bank of the Meuse, suffered severely from machine-gun and artillery fire coming from across the river, and it soon became necessary to push forward the line east of the Meuse so as to obviate this menace.

The Germans had massed their forces east and northeast of Verdun to protect Metz, as they had believed that our main attack was coming in that direction. North of Verdun from the Meuse eastward they had placed Austrian troops in line, and it was against this weaker part of the line that General Claudel struck. He thus violated the principle of attack; that is, instead of attacking perpendicularly to the axis of the enemy's line, he attacked across the



enemy's main front. In order to do this the 29th American Division was brought in behind the 18th French Division and then spread along the dry canal bed near Samogneux with the Meuse at its back.

On the morning of the attack, Oct. 8, the corps front held as follows: 33d Division, (on the west bank of the Meuse;) 29th, 18th French, 26th French.

The 29th Division was to seize the high ground up to the Etrayes Ridge and the series of intervening hills and woods, then swing northeast and east in order to push the enemy entirely from the heights of the Meuse into the Woivre plain, at the same time advancing to the strong position of Herbebois and to Flabas.

The attack was unusually successful. On that first day the 29th Division advanced from five to six kilometers. The 116th Infantry took Malbrouck Hill and pushed on through the woods of Consenvoye. This regiment reached the northern edge of the woods by noon, but the division on its right was held up in the Bois d'Haumont.

The 33d Division was required to cross over the Meuse at Brabant and Consenvoye. Bridges were built at these two places in broad daylight under unceasing artillery fire. The troops which got across dug in for the night in the Bois de Chaumes.

By evening of Oct. 9 five battalions of the 33d had got across the river. The infantry reached the further edge of the Bois de Chaumes by noon, and patrols pushed as far as Sivry. Late in the day the Germans counterattacked with considerable force against the right of the 33d and particularly against the 29th. There was great difficulty in maintaining contact between the two divisions. This lack of contact became more noticeable on the following day, when one regiment of the 33d, having advanced to the edge east of Sivry, was forced to dig in, in order to protect its flank. The troops of the 29th on that day were under a terrific concentration of enemy fire. They made a new attack in order to get beyond the Molleville clearing, but on the right no advance could be made. The left of the division succeed-

ed in joining up with the line of the 33d in the Bois Plat-Chêne.

#### AT THE BOIS D'ORMONT

The 33d Division held its positions without further advance until Oct. 22, when it was relieved. The 29th, however, struggled to get forward under an ever-increasing concentration of fire. On Oct. 11 a new attack made no progress. The following day the 114th Infantry, acting under the orders of the 18th French Division, on its immediate right, attacked the Bois d'Ormont. Later the 113th Infantry attacked from the northwest and reached the edge of the wood. These troops were unable to hold their positions. On Oct. 13 the enemy delivered two violent counterattacks on the 113th, but our troops held to their position.

This regiment, on Oct. 15, began an attack against Molleville Farm and up to the ridge of La Grande Montagne. It reached its objective on the left, but was held up on the right. On the following day the regiment was relieved at the edge of La Grande Montagne by the 26th Division.

On Oct. 23 the 29th Division, assisted by one regiment of the 26th, carried the Etrayes Ridge, finally occupying the Pylone, the observatory on its crest. On the following day the 29th Division repulsed a counterattack, while the 26th attempted to get through the Bois de Belleu. It repulsed three German counterattacks; the fourth, however, drove our troops out. Elements of the 26th moved forward again during the night and succeeded in reaching the northern edge of the wood. Further to the right, two battalions made two attacks against Hill 300. They took the hill, but were unable to hold it. On Oct. 27 the 26th Division, assisted by the right of the 29th, launched a general assault which finally cleared Belleu Wood. Advanced troops got into the Bois d'Ormont, but had to fall back.

The 29th Division, between Oct. 28 and 30, was relieved by the 79th, which had just been shifted over to the right by the 33d Division, this latter unit coming up on the main line of the Meuse heights from Fresnes to a point one kilometer



from Woel. The 79th on Nov. 1 also took over part of the 26th Division's sector, the latter moving to the front Bois d'Ormont to Beaumont.

The 26th Division patrols on Nov. 9 reported that the enemy was retreating, and the line began a general advance. On the following day both the 26th and 33d Divisions attacked, the former making only slight progress. The latter unit captured the village of Marcheville and the Bois des Harville. Early on the morning of Nov. 11 the 33d Division attacked again, capturing Riaville, Pintheville, Malzeray, and Harville. It was in these positions when the armistice was signed. On the front of the 26th an attack had been ordered, but the signing of the armistice prevented it.

#### DESPERATE EFFORTS OF ENEMY

From Sept. 26 to Nov. 11 the enemy, commanded by General von der Marwitz, used forty-six different divisions in the line against the American forces—thirteen of these were engaged twice and two three times. Of the forty-six

divisions, fifteen were first-class shock divisions. The enemy threw in against us one-third of his total forces in France.

In the last few weeks of the Meuse-Argonne battle our commanders observed the phenomenon of the Germans sending their reinforcements directly into the line, instead of following what had been the invariable rule of withdrawing shattered divisions for replacements and training behind the lines. In several cases units of a German division appeared at different places on the line, due to the urgent necessity of stopping the gaps with whatever troops were available at the moment.

It is certain that up to Nov. 1 the enemy expected to break down our offensive by the stubbornest machine-gun and artillery defense since the beginning of the war. After that he saw that withdrawal behind the Meuse was inevitable and attempted to extricate his badly tangled troops from the dangerous positions in which they found themselves.

### New York's Greeting to the 77th Division

The 77th Division, commanded by Major Gen. Alexander, and containing most of the New York men who took part in the Meuse-Argonne battle, received the plaudits of a million friends and spectators when it paraded up Fifth Avenue on May 6. Like the parade of the 26th Division in Boston, the event was typical of the warm greeting that awaited all the soldiers in their home towns. These 2,700 New York boys, drawn from nearly every race on earth, made a picture never to be forgotten as they marched beneath miles of waving flags and cheering throngs from Washington Square to 110th Street. The enthusiasm, however, was tempered by the pageant for the dead, centring about ten white flags containing 2,356 gold stars in memory of those who had given their lives for their country.

The headquarters troops, with guns over shoulders and helmets slung upon their backs, marched sixteen abreast, filling the avenue from curb to curb.

These troops were followed by the 302d Engineers and the 302d Field Signal Battalion, and behind them marched without weapons the 305th and the 306th Machine Gun Battalions.

But the great spectacle was the infantry, including the artillery marching as infantry. Of all the great parades and military pageants which New York had seen there had been nothing which so abundantly and impressively filled the eye as the battalions which marched in solid masses from sidewalk to sidewalk, each filling a little more than the length of a block, with glittering bayonets rising rhythmically with each step. The crowd gave a special greeting to the 1st Battalion of the 308th Infantry, "The Lost Battalion," as it has been called for its heroic stand while surrounded in the Argonne. The main body of the wounded followed in automobiles of the Motor Corps of America. A special ceremony of honor was held at the Court of Heroic Dead in front of the Public Library.



# HAIG'S FINAL DISPATCH

## Review of the Whole War as One Great and Continuous Engagement—British March to the Rhine

[FIRST HALF]

*Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig's final dispatch regarding the operations of the British armies in France is dated March 21, 1919, and was made public in London on April 11. It is divided into three parts. The first deals with the armistice and the march of the British to the Rhine. The second is a masterly review of the whole war as a single campaign. In the third, Sir Douglas Haig singles out certain of his officers for honorable mention. The first and last sections are reproduced below in somewhat condensed form, but the main section, containing the British commander's survey of the whole war, is presented in the full official text.*

### PART I.

#### ADVANCE INTO GERMANY

AT 11 o'clock on Nov. 11, 1919, at which hour and date the armistice granted to Germany by the Allies took effect, the British front extended over a distance of about sixty miles from the neighborhood of Montbliart, east of Avesnes, to just north of Grammont. This front from south to north was held by troops of the Fourth, Third, First, Fifth, and Second British Armies, all of whom were in hot pursuit of the enemy at the moment when the armistice came into operation.

Troops were at once directed not to advance east of the line reached by them at the time when hostilities ceased, and certain parties of Germans taken prisoner after that hour were returned to the enemy.

The zone allotted to the British armies extended from the front then held by us in an easterly direction as far as the German frontier, whence it continued in a northeasterly direction to the Cologne bridgehead. To permit the enemy to withdraw his troops from the area immediately in front of us, our positions were maintained unchanged until the morning of the 17th of November. Thereafter, to avoid all possibility of collision between the opposing forces, the movement of troops toward the frontier was regulated so as to preserve a safety zone

of ten kilometers in depth between our advanced detachments and the enemy's rearguards.

As we progressed eastward, the front held by the British armies, already short, would automatically be decreased. On the other hand, the maintenance of supply across and beyond the battle areas presented difficulties which would grow rapidly as our communications lengthened. These two considerations made it both feasible and necessary to effect a redistribution of troops, so that the extent of the forces advancing into Germany should be no more than was absolutely necessary to meet military requirements.

I decided that the opening stages of our advance should be carried out by the Second and Fourth Armies, under command of the two senior army commanders, General Plumer and General Rawlinson, and that each army should consist of four corps each of four divisions. To insure rapidity of movement and to facilitate supply, the artillery and auxiliary arms and services accompanying these armies were cut down to a minimum, and all surplus units then attached to them were transferred to the First, Third, and Fifth Armies. Arrangements were made for reorganizing these last-mentioned armies and for withdrawing them to areas further west.



At midnight on the 17th of November the 2d Cavalry Division covering the front of the Fourth Army and the 1st and 3d Cavalry Divisions covering the front of the Second Army crossed the line reached on the 11th of November and commenced the march to the German frontier. The leading infantry divisions moved forward on the following day.

The advance was carried out under active service conditions, cavalry leading and all military precautions being taken. Among all arms, the general bearing, smartness, and march discipline of the troops were of a high order, reflecting credit on the army and the nation. All traces of the desperate fighting and forced marches of the previous months had been removed, and men, horses, guns, and vehicles appeared as though turned out for parade. Throughout the advance, despite long distances covered under difficult conditions, indifferent billets, and the absence of the usual opportunities for bathing or renewing clothes, the same general standard of excellence was maintained in a remarkable degree.

#### WELCOME BY THE LIBERATED

In every town and village streets were festooned with flags and spanned by triumphal arches bearing messages of welcome. Men, women, and children thronged to meet our troops and exchange greetings in French and English. Nor was their gratitude confined to demonstrations such as these. Wherever our men were billeted during their advance everything possible was done for their comfort. In many cases refreshment was pressed upon them without payment, and on all sides, despite the shortage of food from which the occupied districts of Belgium had long suffered, the generosity of the civil population found means to supplement the rations of our troops. During this period large numbers of released prisoners of war, French and British, came through our lines and were passed back to collecting stations. The enemy seems to have liberated the majority of the allied prisoners west of the Rhine without making any provision for their feeding and conveyance. The result was that much unnecessary suffering was caused to these unfortunate individuals, while a not inconsiderable additional burden was placed upon our own transport and supplies.

At the time of the armistice railheads were on the general line Le Cateau, Valenciennes, Lille, Courtrai, and for many miles in front of them bridges had been broken and track torn up or destroyed by mines. Even after the cessation of hostilities delay action mines, which the enemy had laid in the course of his retreat without preserving ex-

act record of their location, went up from time to time, causing serious interruption to traffic. The clearing of these mines was a work of considerable risk, and the fact that comparatively so few mines exploded after trains had begun to run is entirely due to the great courage and skill with which officers, noncommissioned officers, and men of the tunneling companies performed the difficult and dangerous task of detecting them and rendering them harmless.

Until roads and railways could be got through to the areas which the enemy had not damaged the progress of our troops was necessarily limited by our ability to supply them.

#### SUCCESSORING CIVILIANS

[Sir Douglas Haig notes that the difficulties of transport were increased by the necessity of giving succor to the liberated civilian population.]

In this connection it is not out of place to refer to the work done by the British Army in providing food and medical attendance for a civil population which in France alone amounted to nearly 800,000 persons. In France it entailed the supply and distribution of more than 5,000,000 rations during a period exceeding six weeks, until the French were able to complete their arrangements for relieving us of the task. The service we were able to render in the name of humanity has been most generously acknowledged by the French authorities.

The fulfillment of our program under such conditions would have been impossible without the exercise of great patience and whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the troops under very trying conditions.

It will readily be understood that had our advance been conducted against active opposition even from a beaten and demoralized enemy, our progress must have been greatly delayed. Immense loss would have been caused to property of all descriptions and incalculable suffering inflicted upon the inhabitants of the invaded districts of Belgium, France, and Luxembourg.

On the morning of Dec. 1, a date forever memorable as witnessing the consummation of the hopes and efforts of four and one-half years of heroic fighting, the 1st Cavalry Division crossed the frontier between Belgium and Germany. On the same day the 2d and 1st Canadian Divisions of the Canadian Corps and the 29th and 9th Divisions of the 2d Corps resumed their march toward the frontier. On this date, however, the supply situation became critical, trains due on Nov. 30 failing to arrive until the night of Dec. 1-2. In consequence, for two days the army remained practically stationary, and it was not until Dec. 4 that progress was resumed.

Before Christmas Day the troops of the Second Army had reached their final areas in the occupied territories of Germany.



## PART II.

### FEATURES OF THE WAR

In this, my final dispatch, I think it desirable to comment briefly upon certain general features which concern the whole series of operations carried out under my command. I am urged thereto by the conviction that neither the course of the war itself nor the military lessons to be drawn therefrom can properly be comprehended, unless the long succession of battles commenced on the Somme in 1916 and ended in November of last year on the Sambre are viewed as forming part of one great and continuous engagement.

To direct attention to any single phase of that stupendous and incessant struggle and seek in it the explanation of our success, to the exclusion or neglect of other phases possibly less striking in their immediate or obvious consequences, is, in my opinion, to risk the formation of unsound doctrines regarding the character and requirements of modern war.

If the operations of the last four and a half years are regarded as a single continuous campaign, there can be recognized in them the same general features and the same necessary stages which, between forces of approximately equal strength, have marked all the conclusive battles of history. There is in the first instance the preliminary stage of the campaign, in which the opposing forces seek to deploy and manoeuvre for position, endeavoring while doing so to gain some early advantage which might be pushed home to quick decision. This phase came to an end in the present war with the creation of continuous trench lines from the Swiss frontier to the sea.

Battle having been joined, there follows the period of real struggle, in which the main forces of the two belligerent armies are pitted against each other in close and costly combat. Each commander seeks to wear down the power of resistance of his opponent and to pin him to his position, while preserving or accumulating in his own hands a powerful reserve force with which he can manoeuvre, and, when signs of the enemy becoming morally and physically weakened are observed, deliver the decisive at-

tack. The greatest possible pressure against the enemy's whole front must be maintained, especially when the crisis of the battle approaches. Then every man, horse, and gun is required to co-operate, so as to complete the enemy's overthrow and exploit success.

In the stage of the wearing-out struggle losses will necessarily be heavy on both sides, for in it the price of victory is paid. If the opposing forces are approximately equal in numbers, in courage, in morale, and in equipment there is no way of avoiding payment of the price or of eliminating this phase of the struggle.

In former battles this stage of the conflict has rarely lasted more than a few days, and has often been completed in a few hours. When armies of millions are engaged, with the resources of great empires behind them, it will inevitably be long. It will include violent crises of fighting, which, when viewed separately and apart from the general perspective, will appear individually as great indecisive battles. To this stage belong the great engagements of 1916 and 1917, which wore down the strength of the German armies.

Finally, whether from the superior fighting ability and leadership of one of the belligerents as the result of greater resources or tenacity or by reason of higher morale, or from a combination of all these causes, the time will come when the other side will begin to weaken and the climax of the battle is reached. Then the commander of the weaker side must choose whether he will break off the engagement, if he can, while there is yet time, or stake on a supreme effort what reserves remain to him. The launching and destruction of Napoleon's last reserves at Waterloo was a matter of minutes. In this world war the great sortie of the beleaguered German armies, commenced on the 21st of March, 1918, lasted four months, yet it represents a corresponding stage in a single colossal battle.

The breaking down of such a supreme effort will be the signal for the commander of the successful side to develop his greatest strength, and seek to turn to immediate account the loss in material and morale, which their failure must inevitably produce among his opponent's troops. In a battle joined and decided in the course of a few days or hours



there is no risk that the lay observer will seek to distinguish the culminating operations by which victory is seized and exploited from the preceding stages by which it has been made possible and determined. If the whole operations of the present war are regarded in correct perspective the victories of the Summer and Autumn of 1918 will be seen to be as directly dependent upon the two years of stubborn fighting that preceded them.

### LENGTH OF THE WAR

If the causes which determined the length of the recent contest are examined in the light of the accepted principles of war, it will be seen that the duration of the struggle was governed by and bore a direct relation to certain definite factors which are enumerated below.

In the first place, we were unprepared for war, or at any rate for a war of such magnitude. We were deficient in both trained men and military material, and, what was more important, had no machinery ready by which either men or material could be produced in anything approaching the requisite quantities. The consequences were two-fold. First, the necessary machinery had to be improvised hurriedly, and improvisation is never economical and seldom satisfactory. In this case the high-water mark of our fighting strength in infantry was only reached after two and a half years of conflict, by which time heavy casualties had already been incurred. In consequence, the full man power of the empire was never developed in the field at any period of the war.

As regards material, it was not until mid-summer, 1916, that the artillery situation became even approximately adequate to the conduct of major operations. Throughout the Somme battle the expenditure of artillery ammunition had to be watched with the greatest care. During the battles of 1917 ammunition was plentiful, but the gun situation was a source of constant anxiety. Only in 1918 was it possible to conduct artillery operations independently of any limiting consideration other than that of transport.

The second consequence of our unpreparedness was that our armies were unable to intervene, either at the outset of the war or until nearly two years had elapsed, in sufficient strength adequately to assist our allies. The enemy was able to gain a notable initial advantage by establishing himself in Belgium and Northern France, and throughout the early stages of the war was free to concentrate an undue proportion of his effectives against France and Russia. The excessive burden thrown upon the gallant army of France during this period caused them losses, the effect of which has been felt all through the war and directly influenced its length. Just as at no time were we as an empire able to put our own full strength into the field, so at no time

were the Allies as a whole able completely to develop and obtain the full effect from their greatly superior man power. What might have been the effect of British intervention on a larger scale in the earlier stages of the war is shown by what was actually achieved by our original Expeditionary Force.

### ALLIES' MIRACULOUS RECOVERY

It is interesting to note that in previous campaigns the side which has been fully prepared for war has almost invariably gained a rapid and complete success over its less well prepared opponent. In 1866 and 1870, Austria, and then France, were overwhelmed at the outset by means of superior preparation. The initial advantages derived therefrom were followed up by such vigorous and ruthless action, regardless of loss, that there was no time to recover from the first stunning blows. The German plan of campaign in the present war was undoubtedly based on similar principles. The margin by which the German onrush in 1914 was stemmed was so narrow and the subsequent struggle so severe that the word "miraculous" is hardly too strong a term to describe the recovery and ultimate victory of the Allies.

A further cause adversely influencing the duration of the war on the Western front during its later stages, and one following indirectly from that just stated, was the situation in other theatres. The military strength of Russia broke down in 1917 at a critical period, when, had she been able to carry out her military engagements, the war might have been shortened by a year. At a later date, the military situation in Italy in the Autumn of 1917 necessitated the transfer of five British divisions from France to Italy, at a time when their presence in France might have had far-reaching effects.

Thirdly, the Allies were handicapped in their task and the war thereby lengthened by the inherent difficulties always associated with the combined action of armies of separate nationalities, differing in speech and temperament and, not least important, in military organization, equipment and supply.

Finally, as indicated in the opening paragraph of this part of my dispatch, the huge numbers of men engaged on either side, whereby a continuous battlefield was rapidly established from Switzerland to the sea, outflanking was made impossible and manoeuvre very difficult, necessitated the delivery of frontal attacks. This factor, combined with the strength of the defensive under modern conditions, rendered a protracted wearing-out battle unavoidable before the enemy's power of resistance could be overcome. So long as the opposing forces are at the outset approximately equal in numbers and morale and there are no flanks to turn, a long struggle for supremacy is inevitable.



## TOTAL CASUALTIES

Obviously, the greater the length of a war the higher is likely to be the number of casualties incurred in it on either side. The same causes, therefore, which served to protract the recent struggle are largely responsible for the extent of our casualties. There can be no question that to our general unpreparedness must be attributed the loss of many thousands of brave men whose sacrifice we deeply deplore, while we regard their splendid gallantry and self-devotion with unstinted admiration and gratitude.

Given, however, the military situation existing in August, 1914, our total losses in the war have been no larger than were to be expected. Neither do they compare unfavorably with those of any other of the belligerent nations, so far as figures are available from which comparison can be made. The total British casualties in all theatres of war, killed, wounded, missing and prisoners, including native troops, are approximately three millions, (3,076,388.) Of this total some two and a half millions (2,568,834) were incurred on the Western front. The total French losses, killed, missing, and prisoners, but exclusive of wounded, have been given officially as approximately 1,831,000. If an estimate for wounded is added, the total can scarcely be less than 4,800,000, and of this total it is fair to assume that over four millions were incurred on the Western front. The published figures for Italy, killed and wounded only, exclusive of prisoners, amount to 1,400,000, of which practically the whole were incurred in the western theatre of war.

Figures have also been published for Germany and Austria. The total German casualties, killed, wounded, missing, and prisoners, are given at approximately six and a half millions, (6,485,000,) of which the vastly greater proportion must have been incurred on the Western front, where the bulk of the German forces were concentrated and the hardest fighting took place. In view of the fact, however, that the number of German prisoners is definitely known to be considerably understated, these figures must be accepted with reserve. The losses of Austria-Hungary in killed, missing, and prisoners are given as approximately two and three-quarter millions, (2,772,000.) An estimate of wounded would give a total of over four and a half millions.

## UNDER CONSTANT STRAIN

The extent of our casualties, like the duration of the war, was dependent on certain definite factors which can be stated shortly.

In the first place, the military situation compelled us, particularly during the first portion of the war, to make great efforts before we had developed our full strength in the field or properly equipped and trained our armies. These efforts were wasteful of men, but in the circumstances they could not be avoided. The only alternative was to

do nothing and see our French allies overwhelmed by the enemy's superior numbers.

During the second half of the war and that part embracing the critical and costly period of the wearing-out battle, the losses previously suffered by our allies laid upon the British armies in France an increasing share in the burden of attack. From the opening of the Somme battle in 1916 to the termination of hostilities the British armies were subjected to a strain of the utmost severity, which never ceased, and consequently had little or no opportunity for the rest and training they so greatly needed.

In addition to these particular considerations, certain general factors peculiar to modern war made for the inflation of losses. The great strength of modern field defenses and the power and precision of modern weapons, the multiplication of machine guns, trench mortars and artillery of all natures, the employment of gas and the rapid development of the airplane as a formidable agent of destruction against both men and material, all combined to increase the price to be paid for victory.

If only for these reasons no comparisons can usefully be made between the relative losses incurred in this war and any previous war. There is, however, the further consideration that the issues involved in this stupendous struggle were far greater than those concerned in any other war in recent history. Our existence as an empire, and civilization itself, as it is understood by the free Western nations, were at stake. Men fought as they have never fought before in masses.

Despite our own particular handicaps and the foregoing general considerations, it is satisfactory to note that, as the result of the courage and determination of our troops, and the high level of leadership generally maintained, our losses even in attack over the whole period of the battle compare favorably with those inflicted on our opponents. The approximate total of our battle casualties in all arms, and including overseas troops, from the commencement of the Somme battle in 1916 to the conclusion of the armistice, is 2,110,000. The calculation of German losses is obviously a matter of great difficulty. It is estimated, however, that the number of casualties inflicted on the enemy by British troops during the above period exceeds two and a half millions. It is of interest, moreover, in the light of the paragraph next following, that more than half the total casualties incurred by us in the fighting of 1918 were occasioned during the five months, March-July, when our armies were on the defensive.

## ATTACKED WHENEVER POSSIBLE

Closely connected with the question of casualties is that of the relative values of attack and defense. It is a view often expressed that the attack is more expensive



than defense. This is only a half statement of the truth. Unquestionably, unsuccessful attack is generally more expensive than defense, particularly if the attack is pressed home with courage and resolution. On the other hand, attack so pressed home, if skillfully conducted, is rarely unsuccessful, whereas, in its later stages especially, unsuccessful defense is far more costly than attack.

Moreover, the object of all war is victory, and a purely defensive attitude can never bring about a successful decision, either in a battle or in a campaign. The idea that a war can be won by standing on the defensive and waiting for the enemy to attack is a dangerous fallacy, which owes its inception to the desire to evade the price of victory. It is an axiom that decisive success in battle can be gained only by a vigorous offensive. The principle here stated has long been recognized as being fundamental, and is based on the universal teaching of military history in all ages. The course of the present war has proved it to be correct.

To pass for a moment from the general to the particular, and consider in the light of the present war the facts upon which this axiom is based.

A defensive rôle sooner or later brings about a distinct lowering of the morale of the troops, who imagine that the enemy must be the better man, or at least more numerous, better equipped with and better served by artillery or other mechanical aids to victory. Once the mass of the defending infantry become possessed of such ideas the battle is as good as lost. An army fighting on enemy soil, especially if its standard of discipline is high, may maintain a successful defense for a protracted period, in the hope that victory may be gained elsewhere or that the enemy may tire or weaken in his resolution and accept a compromise. The resistance of the German armies was undoubtedly prolonged in this fashion, but in the end the persistence of our troops had its natural effect.

Further, a defensive policy involves the loss of the initiative, with all the consequent disadvantages to the defender. The enemy is able to choose at his own convenience the time and place of his attacks. Not being influenced himself by the threat of attack from his opponent, he can afford to take risks, and by greatly weakening his front in some places can concentrate an overwhelming force elsewhere with which to attack. The defender, on the other hand, becomes almost entirely ignorant of the dispositions and plans of his opponent, who is thus in a position to effect a surprise. This was clearly exemplified during the fighting of 1918. As long as the enemy was attacking he obtained fairly full information regarding our dispositions. Captured documents show that, as soon as he was thrown once more on the defensive and the initiative returned to the Allies, he was kept in comparative

ignorance of our plans and dispositions. The consequence was that the Allies were able to effect many surprises, both strategic and tactical.

As a further effect of the loss of the initiative and ignorance of his opponent's intentions, the defender finds it difficult to avoid a certain dispersal of his forces. Though for a variety of reasons, including the fact that we had lately been on the offensive, we were by no means entirely ignorant of the enemy's intentions in the Spring of 1918, the unavoidable uncertainty resulting from a temporary loss of the initiative did have the effect of preventing a complete concentration of our reserves behind the point of the enemy's attack.

An additional reason, peculiar to the circumstances of the present war, which in itself compelled me to refuse to adopt a purely defensive attitude so long as any other was open to me, is to be found in the geographical position of our armies. For reasons stated by me in my dispatch of July 20, 1918, we could not afford to give much ground on any part of our front. The experience of the war has shown that if the defense is to be maintained successfully, even for a limited time, it must be flexible.

## END OF THE WAR

If the views set out by me in the preceding paragraphs are accepted, it will be recognized that the war did not follow any unprecedented course, and that its end was neither sudden, nor should it have been unexpected. The rapid collapse of Germany's military powers in the latter half of 1918 was the logical outcome of the fighting of the previous two years. It would not have taken place but for that period of ceaseless attrition which used up the reserves of the German armies, while the constant and growing pressure of the blockade sapped with more deadly insistence from year to year at the strength and resolution of the German people. It is in the great battles of 1916 and 1917 that we have to seek for the secret of our victory in 1918.

Doubtless the end might have come sooner had we been able to develop the military resources of our empire more rapidly and with a higher degree of concentration, or had not the defection of Russia in 1917 given our enemies a new lease of life.

So far as the military situation is concerned, in spite of the great accession of strength which Germany received as the result of the defection of Russia, the battles of 1916 and 1917 had so far weakened her armies that the effort they made in 1918 was insufficient to secure victory. Moreover, the effect of the battles of 1916 and 1917 was not confined to loss of German manpower. The moral effects of those battles were enormous, both in the German Army and in Germany. By their means our soldiers established over the German soldier a





ALLIED OCCUPATION OF WESTERN GERMANY: THE BLACK LINE AT THE LEFT SHOWS BATTLEFRONT AT TIME OF ARMISTICE. THE LIGHT SHADING ALONG THE RHINE INDICATES THE NEUTRAL ZONE SEPARATING THE OCCUPIED REGION FROM THE REST OF GERMANY

moral superiority, which they held in an ever-increasing degree until the end of the war, even in the difficult days of March and April, 1918.

#### VALUE OF CAVALRY

From time to time, as the war of position dragged on and the enemy's trench systems remained unbroken, while questions of man power and the shortage of shipping became acute, the wisdom or necessity of maintaining any large force of mounted men was freely discussed. In the light of the full ex-

perience of the war the decision to preserve the cavalry corps has been completely justified. It has been proved that cavalry, whether used for shock effect under suitable conditions or as mobile infantry, have still an indispensable part to play in modern war. Moreover, it cannot safely be assumed that in all future wars the flanks of the opposing forces will rest on neutral States or impassable obstacles. Whenever such a condition does not obtain, opportunities for use of cavalry must arise frequently.

Throughout the great retirement in 1914



our cavalry covered the retirement and protected the flanks of our columns against the onrush of the enemy, and on frequent occasions prevented our infantry from being overrun by the enemy's cavalry. Later in the same year at Ypres their mobility multiplied their value as a reserve, enabling them rapidly to reinforce threatened portions of our line.

During the critical period of position warfare, when the trial of strength between the opposing forces took place, the absence of room to manoeuvre made the importance of cavalry less apparent. Even under such conditions, however, valuable results may be expected from the employment of a strong force of cavalry when, after there has been severe fighting on one or more fronts, a surprise attack is made on another front. Such an occasion arose in the operations before Cambrai at the close of 1917, when the cavalry were of the greatest service; while throughout the whole period of trench fighting they constituted an important mobile reserve.

At a later date, when circumstances found us operating once more in comparatively open country, cavalry proved themselves of value in their true rôle. During the German offensive in March, 1918, the superior mobility of cavalry fully justified their existence. At the commencement of the battle, cavalry were used under the Fifth Army over wide fronts. So great, indeed, became the need for mounted men that certain units which had but recently been dismounted were hurriedly provided with horses and did splendid service. Frequently, when it was impossible to move forward other troops in time, our mounted troops were able to fill gaps in our line and restore the situation. The absence of hostile cavalry at this period was a marked feature of the battle. Had the German command had at their disposal even two or three well-trained cavalry divisions, a wedge might have been driven between the French and British Armies. Their presence could not have failed to have added greatly to the difficulties of our task.

In the actions already referred to east of Amiens the cavalry were again able to demonstrate the great advantage which their power of rapid concentration gives them in a surprise attack. Operating in close concert with both armored cars and infantry, they pushed ahead of the latter and by anticipating the arrival of German reserves assisted materially in our success. In the battle of Oct. 8, they were responsible for saving the Cambrai-Le Cateau-St. Quentin railway from complete destruction. Finally, during the culminating operations of the war, when the German armies were falling back in disorganized masses, a new situation arose which demanded the use of mounted troops. Then our cavalry, pressing hard upon the enemy's heels, hastened his retreat and threw him into worse confusion. At such a time

the moral effect of cavalry is overwhelming and is in itself a sufficient reason for the retention of that arm.

On the morning of the armistice two British cavalry divisions were on the march east of the Scheldt, and before the orders to stop reached them they had already gained a line ten miles in front of our infantry outposts. There is no doubt that, had the advance of the cavalry been allowed to continue, the enemy's disorganized retreat would have been turned into a rout.

### VALUE OF MECHANICAL CONTRIVANCE

A remarkable feature of the present war has been the number and variety of mechanical contrivances to which it has given birth or has brought to a higher state of perfection.

Besides the great increase in mobility made possible by the development of motor transport, heavy artillery, trench mortars, machine guns, airplanes, tanks, gas, and barbed wire have in their several spheres of action played very prominent parts in operations, and as a whole have given a greater driving power to war. The belligerent possessing a preponderance of such mechanical contrivances has found himself in a very favorable position as compared with his less well provided opponent. The general superiority of the Allies in this direction during the concluding stages of the recent struggle undoubtedly contributed powerfully to their success. In this respect the army owes a great debt to science and to the distinguished scientific men who placed their learning and skill at the disposal of their country.

It should never be forgotten, however, that weapons of this character are incapable of effective independent action. They do not in themselves possess the power to obtain a decision, their real function being to assist the infantry to get to grips with their opponents. To place in them a reliance out of proportion to their real utility; to imagine, for example, that tanks and airplanes can take the place of infantry and artillery, would be to do a disservice to those who have the future of these new weapons most at heart by robbing them of the power to use them to their best effect.

Every mechanical device so far produced is dependent for its most effective use upon the closest possible association with other arms, and in particular with infantry and artillery. Airplanes must rely upon infantry to prevent the enemy from overrunning their airdromes, and, despite their increasing range and versatility of action, are clearly incapable in themselves of bringing about a decision. Tanks require the closest artillery support to enable them to reach their objectives without falling victims to the enemy's artillery, and are dependent upon the infantry to hold the position they have won.

As an instance of the interdependence of



artillery and tanks, we may take the actions fought east of Amiens on Aug. 8, 1918, and following days. A very large number of tanks were employed in these operations, and they carried out their tasks in the most brilliant manner. Yet a scrutiny of the artillery ammunition returns for this period discloses the fact that in no action of similar dimensions had the expenditure of ammunition been so great.

Immense as the influence of mechanical devices may be, they cannot by themselves decide a campaign. Their true rôle is that of assisting the infantryman, which they have done in a most admirable manner. They cannot replace him. Only by the rifle and bayonet of the infantryman can the decisive victory be won.

### CO-OPERATION

This war has given no new principles; but the different mechanical appliances above mentioned—and in particular the rapid improvement and multiplication of airplanes, the use of immense numbers of machine guns and Lewis guns, the employment of vast quantities of barbed wire as effective obstacles, the enormous expansion of artillery and the provision of great masses of motor transport—have introduced new problems of considerable complexity concerning the effective co-operation of the different arms and services. Much thought has had to be bestowed upon determining how new devices could be combined in the best manner with the machinery already working.

The development of the Air Service is a matter of general knowledge, and figures showing something of the work done by our airmen were included in my last dispatch. The combining of their operations with those of the other arms, and particularly of the artillery, has been the subject of constant study and experiment, giving results of the very highest value. As regards machine guns, from a proportion of one gun to approximately 500 infantrymen in 1914, our establishment of machine guns and Lewis guns had risen at the end of 1918 to one machine gun or Lewis gun to approximately twenty infantrymen. This great expansion was necessarily accompanied by a modification of training and methods both for attack and defense and resulted ultimately in the establishment of the Machine Gun Corps under an Inspector General.

During the same period the growth of our artillery was even more remarkable, its numbers and power increasing out of all proportion to the experience of previous wars. The 486 pieces of light and medium artillery with which we took the field in August, 1914, were represented at the date of the armistice by 6,437 guns and howitzers of all natures, including pieces of the heaviest calibre.

This vast increase so profoundly influenced the employment of artillery and was accompanied by so intimate an association with

other arms and services that it merits special comment.

In the first place, big changes were required in artillery organization, as well as important decisions concerning the proportions in which the different natures of artillery and artillery ammunition should be manufactured. These changes and decisions were made during 1916 and resulted in the existing artillery organization of the British armies in France.

In order to gain the elasticity essential to the quick concentration of guns at the decisive point, to enable the best use to be made of them and to facilitate ammunition supply and fire control, artillery commanders, acting under army and corps commanders, were introduced and staffs provided for them. This enabled the large concentrations of guns required for our offensives to be quickly absorbed and efficiently directed. The proportions required of guns to howitzers and of the lighter to the heavier natures were determined by certain factors, namely, the problem of siting in the comparatively limited areas available the great numbers of pieces required for an offensive; the "lives" of the different types of guns and howitzers, that is, the number of rounds which can be fired from them before they become unserviceable from wear; and questions of relative accuracy and fire effect upon particular kinds of targets.

### ARTILLERY METHODS

The result attained by the organization established in 1916 is in itself strong evidence of the soundness of the principles upon which it was based. It made possible a high degree of elasticity and by the full and successful exploitation of all the means placed at its disposal by science and experience, insured that the continuous artillery battle which began on the Somme should culminate, as it did, in the defeat of the enemy's guns.

The great development of air photography, sound ranging, flash spotting, air-burst ranging and aerial observation brought counter-battery work and harassing fire both by day and night to a high state of perfection. Special progress was made in the art of engaging moving targets with fire controlled by observation from airplanes and balloons. The work of the field survey sections in the location of hostile battery positions by resection and the employment of accurate maps was brought into extended use. In combination with the work of the calibration sections in the accurate calibration of guns and by careful calculation of corrections of range required to compensate for weather conditions, it became possible to a large extent to dispense with registration, whereby the chance of effecting surprise was greatly increased. In the operations east of Amiens on the 8th of August, 1918, in which over 2,000 guns were employed, practically the whole of the batteries concentrated for the



purpose of the attack opened fire for the first time on the actual morning of the assault.

The use of smoke shell for covering the advance of our infantry and masking the enemy's positions was introduced and employed with increasing frequency and effect. New forms of gas shell were made available, and their combination with the infantry attack carefully studied. The invention of a new fuse known as "106," which was first used in the battle of Arras, 1917, enabled wire entanglements to be easily and quickly destroyed and so modified our methods of attacking organized positions. By bursting the shell the instant it touched the ground

and before it had become buried, the destructive effect of the explosion was greatly increased. It became possible to cut wire with a far less expenditure of time and ammunition, and the factor of surprise was given a larger part in operations.

Great attention was paid to the training of personnel, and, in particular, the Chatterton Down Artillery School, Salisbury Plain, was formed for training artillery brigade commanders and battery commanders, while artillery schools in France were organized for the training of subalterns and noncommissioned officers.

[Conclusion in the Next Issue]

## Final Battles in Mesopotamia

### Official Report of General Marshall Regarding the Victorious Operations on the Tigris—Occupation of Baku

THE official report of Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. Marshall, covering the last military operations of the war against the Turks in Mesopotamia in the period between Oct. 1 and Dec. 31, 1918, was made public in London on April 12, 1919. The report falls naturally into two parts, the account of the operations on the River Tigris, and that covering the reoccupation of Baku.

General Marshall deals first with the attack on the Turkish Sixth Army, covering the approaches to Mosul, which opened on Oct. 23. The main operations on the River Tigris were intrusted to Lieut. Gen. Sir A. S. Cobb's 1st Corps, consisting of the 17th and 18th Divisions and the 7th and 11th Cavalry Brigades. Both these divisions, says General Marshall, were new formations, and, with the exception of a few units, had had no previous war experience. A serious outbreak of influenza which occurred at this time also greatly reduced the fighting strength of all units. It is a curious fact that as soon as the operations started there were practically no further cases of influenza.

The operations took place under the most arduous conditions. Long marches had to be made over waterless country, and after fighting had been in progress

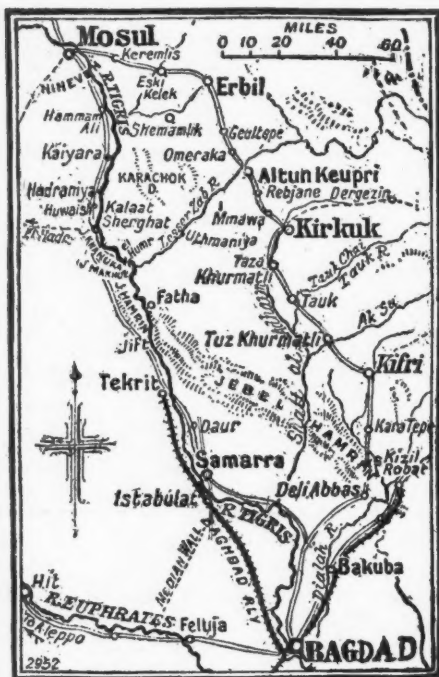
for some days the tired troops were called on for renewed exertions in order to close in on the enemy and force his surrender. The result was a complete success for the British arms.

The bulk of the Turkish forces (calculated at about 9,000 rifles and fifty-nine guns) were located on the Tigris, in a position of great natural strength astride the Fatha Gorge. The enemy's right flank was protected by two formidable ranges of hills, which could not be turned owing to lack of water in the desert. Only light armored cars could operate in this direction, and a direct attack on the main position would have proved very costly. The plan adopted, therefore, was to turn the left of the Turkish position on the Tigris and force a crossing of the Lesser Zab, thus getting their right bank positions in enfilade, and so enabling our troops on that bank to attack with greater chances of success. Having cleared the left bank of the enemy, it was then intended to cut his line of retreat on Mosul by means of cavalry working up the left bank and by light armored motor cars moving round the enemy's right.

These operations, begun on Oct. 23, were brilliantly carried out. The Turks were speedily forced to abandon their strong position, and on the 25th one of



the British columns drove back superior enemy forces and occupied Kirkuk. Next day the 11th Cavalry Brigade, sweeping round the left rear of the Turks, forded the Tigris fourteen miles upstream from Shergat, and seized the Huwais Gorge,



MAP OF THE MOSUL CAMPAIGN

thus blocking the road to Mosul. At the same time the light armored cars, moving round the right rear of the enemy, cut the telegraph line to Mosul, thus isolating the Tigris force from the 6th Turkish Army Headquarters. Thereafter, continuous pressure was maintained on the enemy, although the advance through difficult country, in great heat and with insufficient supplies of water, imposed a great strain on all arms.

#### TURKISH FORCE TRAPPED

On Oct. 28 the 17th Division closed with the Turkish rearguard, which was holding a position three miles south of Shergat, and drove it from its trenches. In this attack the assault by the 2d Royal West Kent Regiment was skillfully arranged and gallantly carried through to the enemy's rearmost line of trenches,

over 200 prisoners and eleven machine guns being captured. During the day Turkish reserves, some 2,500 strong, with several batteries of artillery, made repeated attempts from the south to break through the 11th Cavalry Brigade, but their attacks were unsuccessful. In the evening the 7th Cavalry Brigade, after a march of seventeen hours from Fatha, in which they covered forty-three miles, and crossed the difficult Hadramiya Ford, where several men and horses were drowned, joined the 11th Cavalry Brigade, and took over the protection of the right flank. All troops on the right bank north of the enemy main body were now under the command of Brig. Gen. Cassels, who conducted the operations which barred the retreat of the Turks to Mosul. The report continues:

The position now was that a stubborn and not yet defeated enemy lay between Cassels's command and the 17th Division. The troops were urgently in need of rest; the 17th Division had been marching and fighting for the preceding four days under most arduous conditions. The 11th Cavalry Brigade had been continuously in action for seventy-two hours, and all had made very long marches. Nevertheless, it was imperative to call on the troops for renewed exertions in order to close in on the enemy and force his surrender. During the night (Oct. 28-29) the Turks made repeated attempts to break through to the north, but were each time repulsed. In spite of exhaustion, darkness, and abominable roads, the troops of the 17th Division responded magnificently to the call made on them, and by 11 A. M. on the 29th had driven back the Turkish rearguard on to the main body, which was holding a position north of Shergat. This position consisted of successive lines of hasty intrenchments commanding a series of ravines which had to be crossed by the attackers. Early in the afternoon the attack was launched against this position in the face of a galling fire. While this was in progress the Turks delivered a heavy and vigorous counterattack, which in one place reached the line held by the supporting battalions before it was stopped and dispersed with heavy loss by an immediate counterattack.

Meanwhile a serious threat from Turkish reinforcements moving down from the Mosul direction developed against Cassels's right flank. These troops established themselves with guns and machine guns on the high bluffs near Hadramiya, but were promptly dealt with by the 7th Cavalry Brigade. The 13th Hussars gal-





THROUGH PERSIA TO THE CAUCASUS

loped across the open, dismounted under the bluffs, and, led by their Colonel, carried the position by assault, many Turks being accounted for with the bayonet. Mounted pursuit by the remainder of the 7th Cavalry Brigade cleared away further menace from the north, and resulted in the capture of 1,000 prisoners, with two guns and twelve machine guns.

The enemy's avenues of escape northward were now effectively blocked, thanks to the skillful and resolute handling of his detachment by General Cassels, and the firm determination of his troops, who repulsed every attempt by the enemy to break through. Gripped as in a vise, with his men packed in ravines, which were raked by our guns from across the Tigris, Ismail Hakki, the Turkish commander, found himself in a hopeless position, and no relief was in sight. At dawn on Oct. 30, just as our troops were about to renew the attack, white flags appeared all along the Turkish lines, and later on Ismail Hakki surrendered in person.

Thus ended the last battle fought in the war by a Turkish army. The total capture during the operations amounted to 11,322 prisoners, (including 643 officers,) 51 guns, 130 machine guns, over 2,000 animals, 3 paddle steam-

ers, and large quantities of gun and rifle ammunition, bombs, a complete bridging train, and war material of all kinds. General Marshall at once pushed on his cavalry toward Mosul. They were within twelve miles of the town when news of the armistice was received, but the place was duly occupied as a "deterrent to disorder."

#### REOCCUPATION OF BAKU

General Marshall next turns to the re-occupation of Baku. His account reads as follows:

Immediately after the conclusion of the armistice with Turkey on Oct. 31 I received instructions to reoccupy Baku, (in co-operation with our allies,) and all available troops of the 39th (British) Infantry Brigade were ordered to concentrate for this purpose at Enzeli. They were joined there on Nov. 9 by Russian and Armenian troops under General Bicharakhov, who had been driven by the Turks out of Petrovsk, where the Turkish commander, despite representations by both British and French staff officers, refused to recognize the armistice.

At this time Nuri was commanding the Turkish forces in the Caucasus. An en-



voy had been dispatched to him on Nov. 4 asking for a definite date to be fixed by the Turks for the evacuation of Baku, but a procrastinating reply was received, and in consequence the envoy was sent back again to him, accompanied by a staff officer, to inform him that Baku would be occupied by a British and Russian force on Nov. 17, by which date Turkish troops, with the exception of a small detachment to preserve order, were to be clear of the town.

At dawn on Nov. 16 a fleet of seventeen transports left Enzeli, escorted by three vessels of the Caspian fleet, which had been armed by the royal navy. During the morning of Nov. 17 they were joined off Nargin Island by General Bicharakhov's Russian force, escorted by the Russian Caspian fleet. The expedition was accompanied by French and American representatives, and the vessel conveying Major Gen. W. M. Thomson, commanding the British troops, entered Baku at the head of the combined fleets flying the flags of Great Britain, France, Russia, and America. Our troops landed without opposition, and Baku was taken over from the Turks, who completed their evacuation of the town during the afternoon.

Many and varied were the questions which had to be dealt with in Baku, among which I may instance shipping control, feeding the inhabitants, (numbering a quarter of a million,) finance, (including the reopening of the Russian State Bank,) settlement of labor disputes in the oil fields, strikes in the town, payment of overdue wages, reopening the Transcaucasus system of railways, getting into working order the oil pipe line from Baku to Batumi, &c. All these questions were most ably and firmly dealt with by General Thomson, who was quite evidently the right man in the right place.

Our efforts had to contend with the mutual jealousy and intolerance of various factions, and it is not too much to say that all arrangements for reorganization were hampered by entirely unnecessary delays in withdrawal on the part of the Turks. After retiring from Petrovsk they made further delay at Elizabetopol and other towns, much of which was due to the excessive amount of baggage (mostly loot) which they attempted to remove, together with a reserve of one month's supplies requisitioned by them from the country. A mission had also to be sent to Tiflis to put an end to the hostilities which had commenced between the Georgians and Armenians.

Despite armed Bolshevik ships based on Astrakhan, our armed vessels have permitted of the reopening of the Caspian

trade and fisheries except in the far north.

During the month of December the result of our actions by land and sea along the Caspian littoral was one of steady progress toward pacification as the confidence of the people was gradually gained, and the repatriation of the Armenian and Russian refugees who had been driven out of the Caucasus by the Turks has nearly been completed. Toward the end of the year troops from our Saloniki force landed at Batumi, Baku and Krasnovodsk passed out of my command on the last day of December, 1918, as it was considered easier to maintain troops at these places by the Batumi-Baku line, which was now working with some regularity.

### HUGE CAMP OF REFUGEES

The refugee camp of Armenians, Assyrians, Nestorians, and Jews which I formed at Bakuba in September, now contains some 40,000 men, women, and children, in approximately equal proportions. These refugees have been accommodated in tents, and have been carefully separated according to their various tribes and sects. I hope the repatriation of all these refugees will take place early in the coming Spring, and I have already set machinery in motion with this end in view.

In a final word General Marshall says:

The campaign in Mesopotamia has lasted just four years. From small beginnings, when Fao Fort was captured on Nov. 6, 1914, the ration strength of the force when Mosul was occupied had grown to some 420,000, including labor battalions.

The area of territory of the Turkish Empire which has been conquered and occupied amounts to 114,000 square miles. Actual captures since the beginning of the campaign amount to 45,500 prisoners and 250 guns, together with vast quantities of war material of all descriptions.

These results have been achieved in a country destitute of shade in Summer and impassable owing to floods in wet weather, and are a lasting record of the gallantry and endurance of the officers and men, both British and Indian, who have fought uncomplainingly in spite of heat, thirst, rain, and discomfort for four years in Mesopotamia.

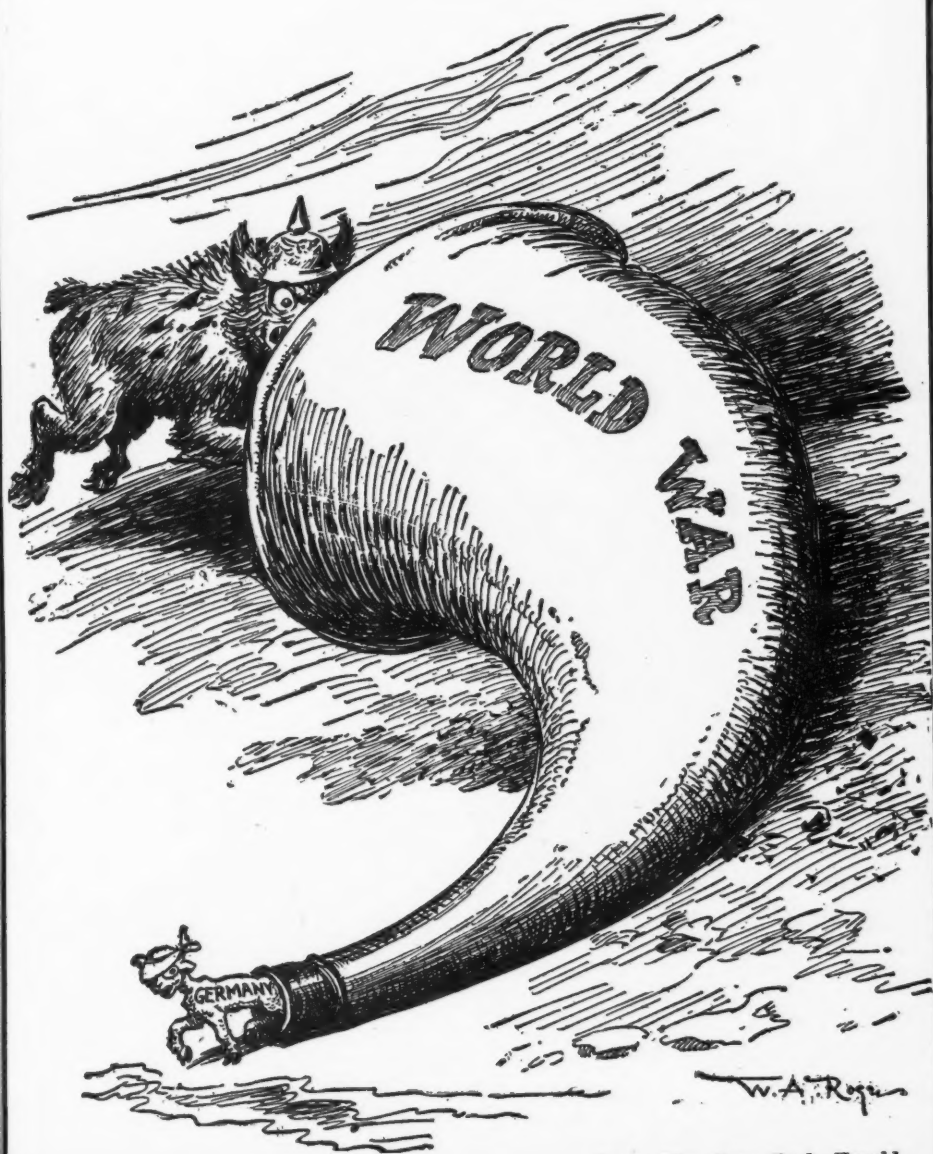
No General had ever, I venture to think, been more loyally served, and I take this opportunity of recording my most grateful thanks to all ranks and all services who have fought so gallantly, worked so hard, and whose devotion to duty has made the Mesopotamian Expeditionary Force an army in which all can be proud to have served.



# INTERNATIONAL CARTOONS OF THE WAR

[American Cartoon]

Finis!



—From The New York Herald



[American Cartoon]

## The German Drive Has Finally Got to Paris



—(©) By The New York Tribune



[Austrian Cartoon]

### Poor Old Middle Class!



—Die Muskete, Vienna

Doomed always to get between two conflicting classes.

[American Cartoon]

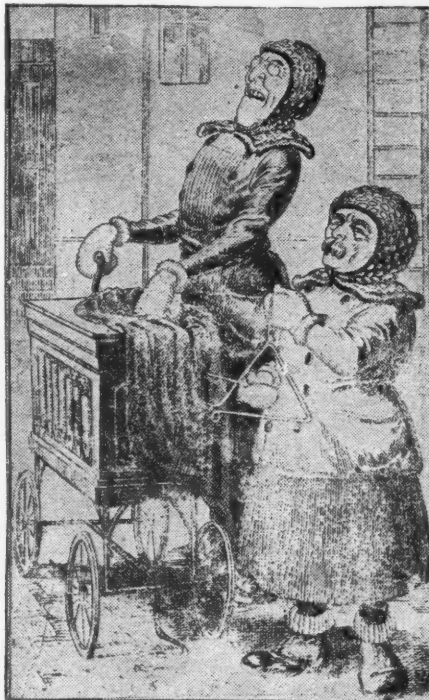
### The Tarantula!



—New York Evening World

[Danish Cartoon]

### The Minstrels of Peace



—Ravnen Copenhagen

[American Cartoon]

"Well, We're Settin' the  
Rest of the World in  
Order, Anyhow!"



—New York Herald

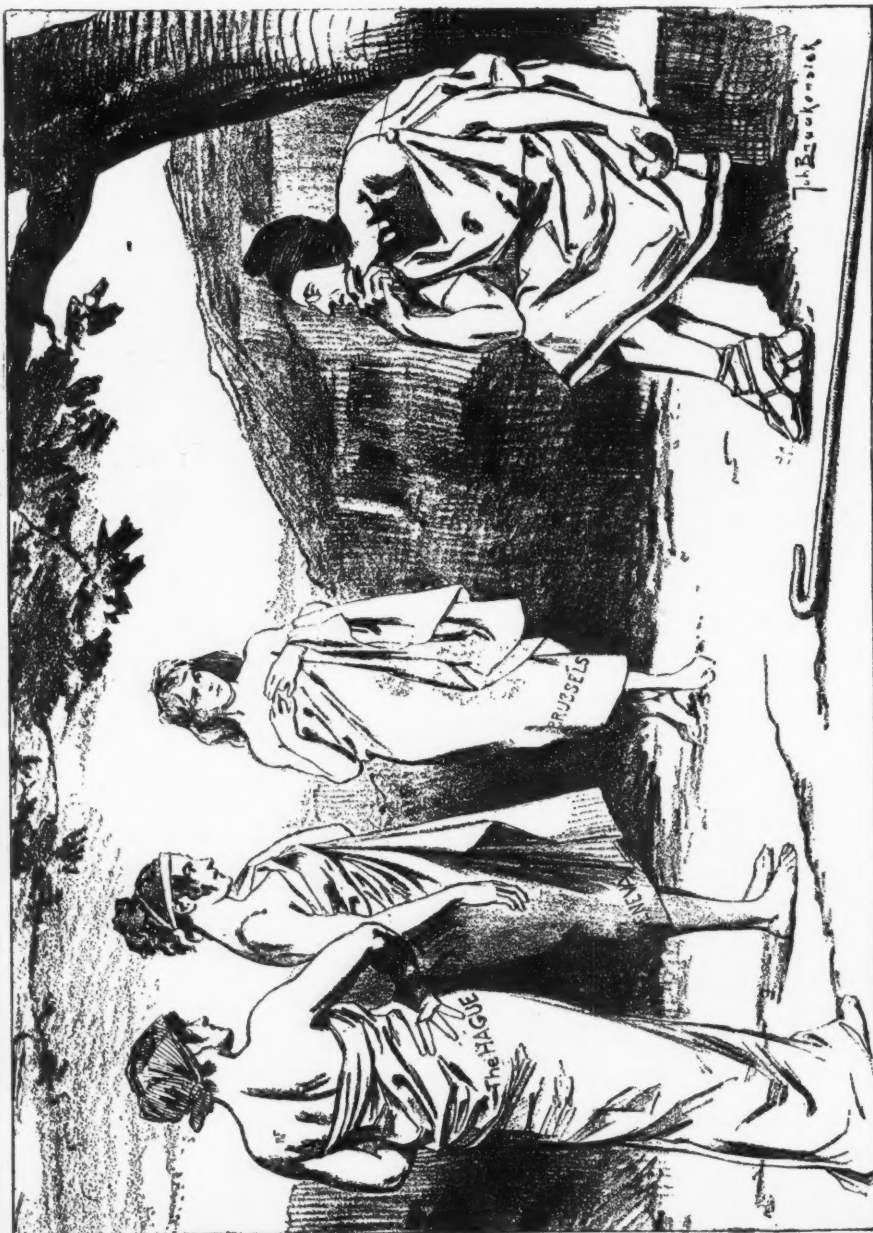


[Dutch Cartoon]

## The Judgment of Paris

Awarding the  
Golden Apple of  
the League of Na-  
tions.

—From  
De Amsterdammer,  
Amsterdam





[American Cartoon]

## Wonder if It's Stormproof?



—From The San Francisco Chronicle



[American Cartoons]

## Ten Thousand Years of Progress



—From Collier's

The cave man's family receives a visit from an old friend

## Come Right in, Doctor

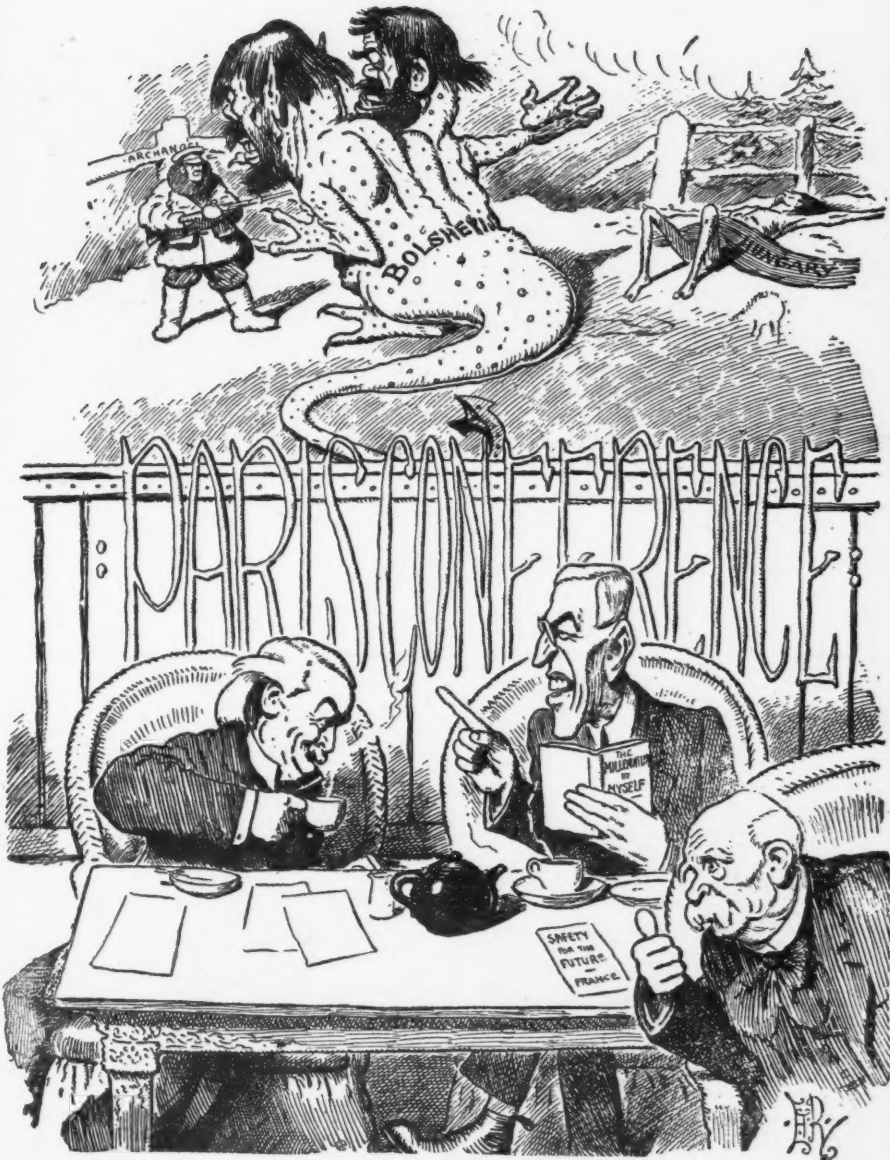


—From The New York Times



[English Cartoon]

## Day-Dreams and Reality



—From *The Passing Show*, London

CLEMENCEAU: "Yes, it sounds bee-yutiful! But don't you think we might just look over the fence and see how the monster is behaving himself today?"



[German Cartoon]

## France Unmasked



—From Kladderadatsch, Berlin

The German cartoonist represents France as saying: "Now at last I can show my true face."



[English Cartoon]

France: "You think him safe, mon ami? But you do not live next door to him"



—From *The World*, London

"The next time, remember, the Germans will make no mistake. They will break through into Northern France and seize the Channel ports as a base of operations against England. They failed the last time because they did not believe England would come in, and when they found she was coming in it was too late to change their plan. You think the Germans will have no arms for another attack? Ho! Ho! How do you know? By the time you found out that they had, it would be too late."—Marshal Foch.



[American Cartoons]

"To Have and to Hold"



"Home, Sweet Home!"



The Final Act of the World's  
Greatest Drama



Now to Get Busy and Pay Off  
the Mortgage

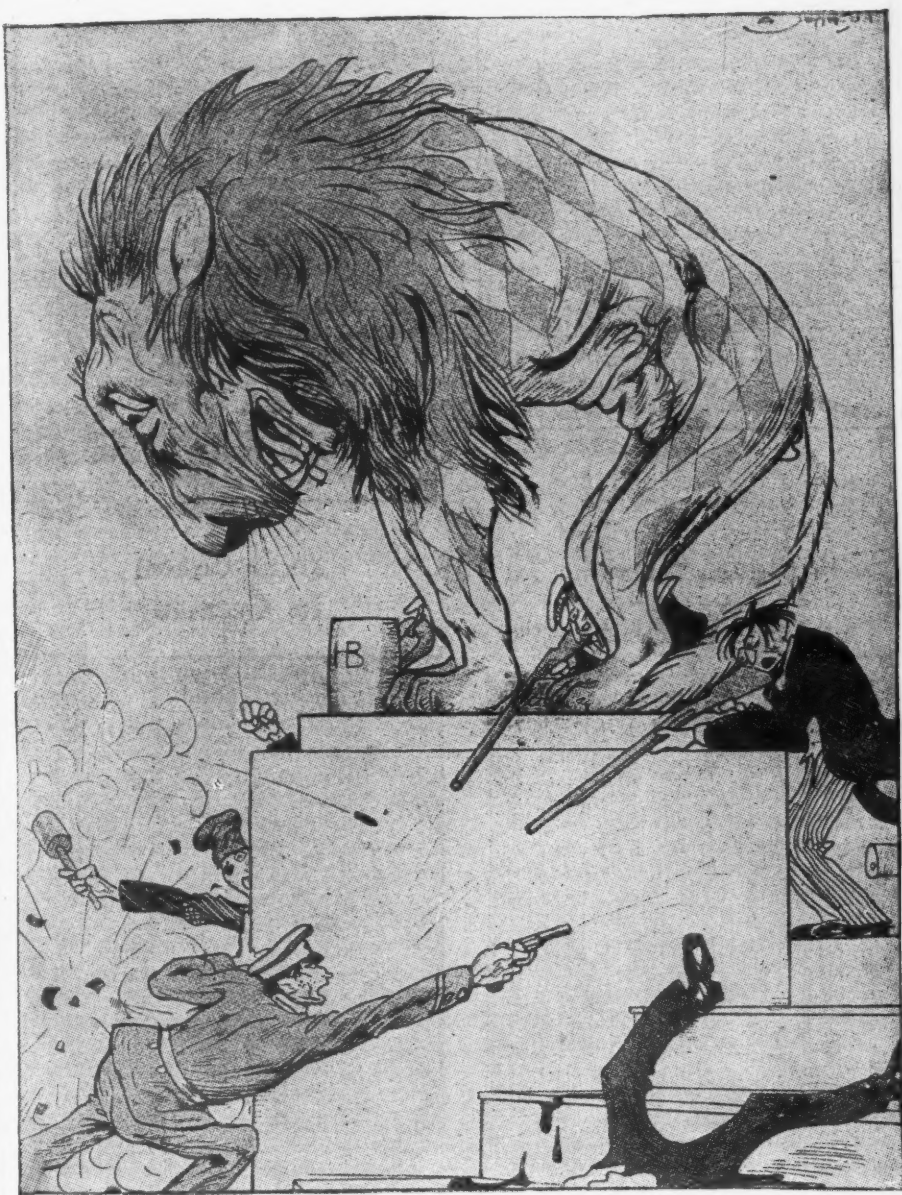


—Central Press Association



[German Cartoon]

## Munich's Carnival



—From *Kladderadatsch*, Berlin

THE BAVARIAN LION: "You fools, I want peace!"



[American Cartoons]

Closer and Closer



—New York World

“Straighten Up There, or Leave the Table”



—Newark Evening News

[German Cartoon]

The Basis of the League



—Simplicissimus, Munich

“Only on these terms can Germany enter.”

[Dutch Cartoon]

In Germany



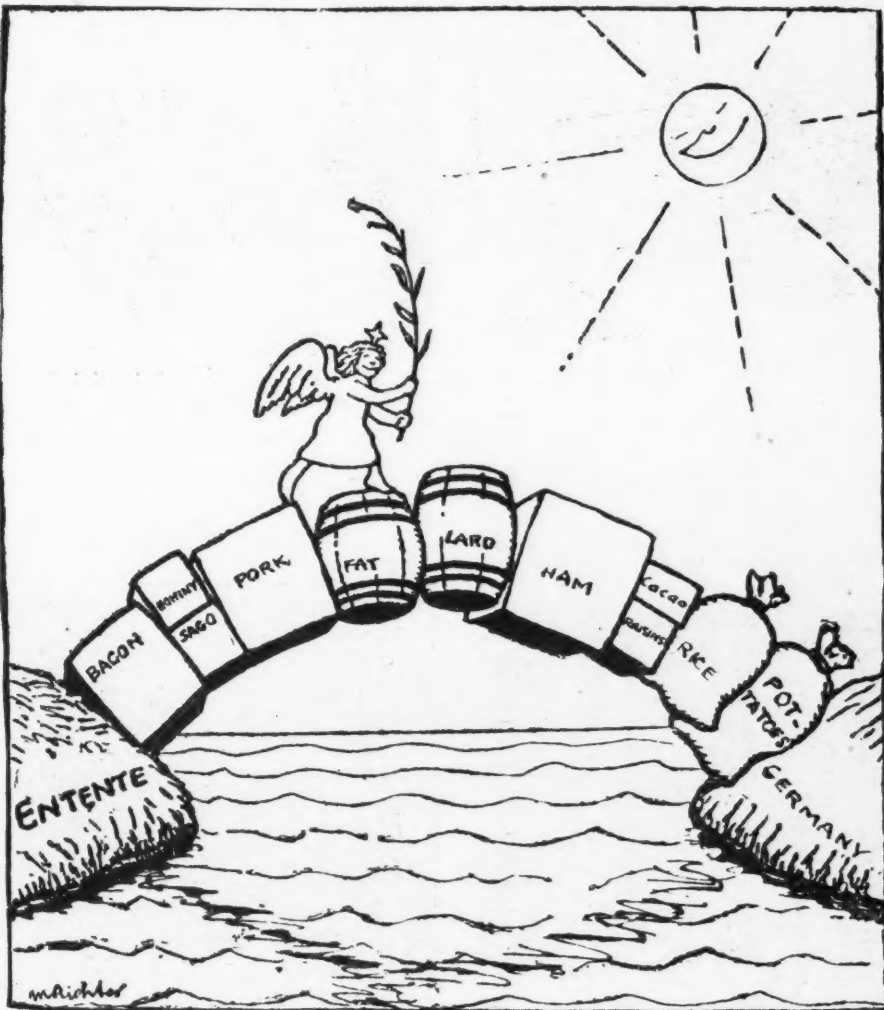
—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam

“What in the world are you doing?”  
“I am getting a little practice in political debate.”



[German Cartoon]

## How Peace Entered Germany



—From Der Brumbar, Berlin



[American Cartoon]

## Bound to Get in Wrong



—Detroit News

[American Cartoon]

## Barricading the Way



—New York World

[Italian Cartoon]

## The Jugoslav



—Il 420, Florence

"The reasons why he hates Italy have been written all over him by Italian arms."

[Italian Cartoon]

## The Fiume Episode



—Il 420, Florence

JUGOSLAV (who wished to swallow Italy):  
"Curse it all! I feel as if I were back on the Piave."



[American Cartoons]

Geneva



It Pinches



—From Newspaper Enterprise Association, Cleveland

[Dutch Cartoon]

Germany's Plight



—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

The hungry eaglet is tearing its mother's breast.



[American Cartoons]

Little Red Riding Hood



The Big Stick



Carrying the Old World's Load



I See My Finish



—San Francisco Chronicle



[French Cartoon]

## The Approach of Peace



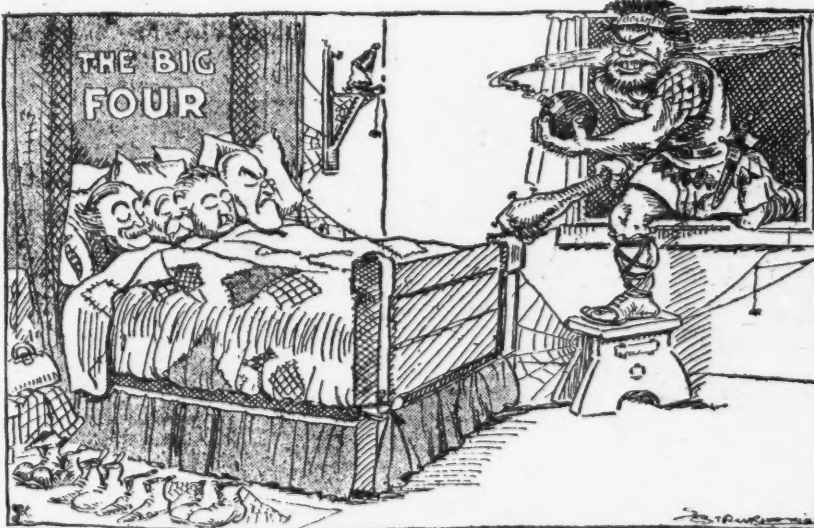
—Forain in *L'Avenir*, Paris

BRITON AND AMERICAN: "We shall soon return to our homes!"

FRANCE: "Think of me on the rainy days!"

[English Cartoon]

## Prince Charming and the Sleeping Beauties



—From *The Daily Express*, London



[English Cartoon]

# Paying for Germany's War



—Evening News, London

[Austrian Cartoon]

# Paderewski Rides Into Warsaw



—Die Muskete, Vienna

[American Cartoon]

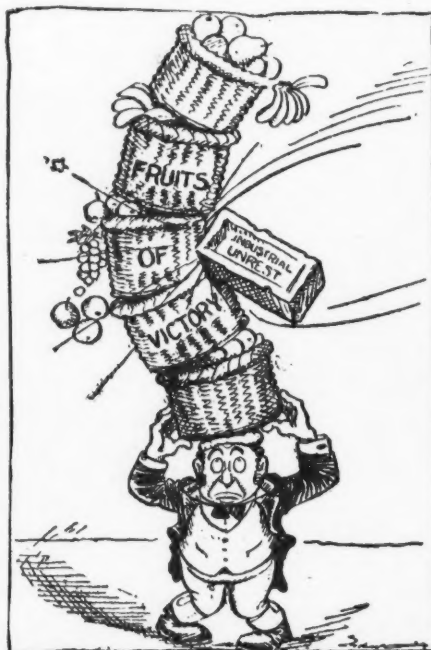
# We Disposed of a Madman— We Can Deal With a Mad Dog



Nelson H. H. H.  
—Brooklyn Eagle

[English Cartoon]

# Who Threw That Brick?



—Daily Express, London